Thos. Hodgins
1848

C. CRISPI SALLUSTII

# BELLUM

## *CATILINARUM ET JUGURTHINUM,*

ET OPTIMA ATQUE ACCURATISSIMA GOTTLIEB CORTII EDITIONE EXPRESSUM.

OR,

# SALLUST'S HISTORY

OF

## *CATILINE'S CONSPIRACY,*

AND

## THE WAR WITH JUGURTHA,

ACCORDING TO THE EXCELLENT AND ACCURATE EDITION OF GOTTLIEB CORTIUS:

WITH

*AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION AS LITERAL AS POSSIBLE;*

AND

LARGE EXPLANATORY NOTES.

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BY JOHN MAIR, A.M.

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CRISPUS ROMANA PRIMUS IN HISTORIA.——MARTIAL lib. xiv.

*THE TENTH EDITION.*

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# PREFACE.

To insist upon the character of SALLUST, as a great genius and a fine historian, is none of my design; his works speak sufficiently for themselves, and have long since procured him such reputation amongst the learned, as sets him far above the need of any encomiums of this kind. All I now propose is, to give some short account of the following translation; and for this purpose it will be necessary to observe, that translations are of two kinds, the one *free*, the other *literal* or *verbal*.

In *free* translations, the thing chiefly considered, is the sense or thought of the author; which the translator endeavours to express in a just, clear, and elegant manner, without much regard to the precise meaning of every individual word in the original. It is the business of such a translator accurately to convey his author's ideas, to keep up his spirit and fine turns; to instruct, affect, and charm his reader, in the same manner as his author would do one who thoroughly understands the language he writes in; but he is far from being obliged to have words in his version that shall answer and explain every single word in the original. And such translations of the *Classics* may be of excellent use to those who do not understand Latin, and yet want to acquaint themselves with the history given us by the Roman authors. They may too, I grant, be a considerable help to such as are applying themselves to the study of Latin, provided the student be not a mere novice in the language; for in that case a free translation is absolutely unfit, and can be of no manner of service. A learner, in order to receive any benefit from such a translation, must at least have before-hand a pretty general acquaintance with Latin words, and the nature of the language; and even after he is thus prepared, he will find abundance of difficulty still behind; for the liberty taken of departing from the letter of the Latin, in order to make the English smooth and elegant, frequently renders the version either so general or figurative, as leaves the learner much in the dark, nay, often altogether at a loss, as to the proper import of the Latin expressions: and a little experience will convince any one, that a translation of this kind cannot be near so helpful to a learner, as a literal one will.

For, in a *literal* translation, the Latin is rendered word for word into the English, or the sense and meaning of every word in the original is expressed in the translation; and it must be much easier for a boy, or any body else, to come at the meaning of a Latin author by such a help as this, than by one of the former kind. We have several free translations of

Sallust, but none that I know of has ever attempted a literal one. Whether this be owing to an apprehension, that a literal version is a dress too mean and sordid for such a great historian, or to the difficulty of the task, (for difficult it is, as any one, by trying to translate but two or three chapters in this manner, will soon be convinced of,) or whether it has been thought, that Sallust was not to be read by boys, till they had gone through a good many other authors, and acquired a considerable skill in the language, and that then a free translation would serve their purpose: which of all these, or whether any of them, be the true reason why we have not hitherto had a literal translation of this author, I shall not pretend to determine. But as he is an author commonly taught in schools, I cannot but think it a piece of good service done the public, to accommodate him, as much as possible, to the capacity of youth: and it is with this view I have made out the following translation; which is not, I acknowledge, precisely or strictly literal in every sentence; and indeed it was impossible it could be so; for the Latin idiom differs so widely from the English, and particularly in Sallust, whose Latin is truly pure and classical, that a great many sentences cannot be translated literally, and at the same time such a measure of justness and propriety in the style preserved, as the English may bear a reading, and not appear absolutely stiff and barbarous. I may however affirm, that it is more literal, and consequently better adapted to the use of learners, than any translation of Sallust yet published: and in this I am supported by the testimony of several gentlemen of skill and judgment, who took the trouble to examine it carefully, and to whom I am obliged for several amendments. Sometimes, to render the sense more clear, or the English more smooth, I found it convenient to insert words in the translation that have none to answer them in the Latin; and these are in a different character.

Besides what I have already observed, there is another consideration that makes a new translation of Sallust necessary; and that is, all the translations hitherto published, are done from very faulty and incorrect editions of the Latin. Sallust has suffered prodigiously, and has been strangely abused, through the ignorance and carelessness of commentators and transcribers. The blunders and corruptions that have crept into the text are very numerous, and several of them very gross, and different too in different copies; insomuch that, if you compare two copies of different editions, you will find very few chapters exactly agree. These corruptions in the original must of course occasion blemishes and imperfections in the translations formed from them; and as several of the false readings in the Latin are such as scarcely admit of any

consistent meaning, one may observe them slurred over in the translations in such a superficial manner, as plainly discovers the translators had been puzzled what to make of them. And if two translations be compared together, they will be found to differ in many places as to the very sense; which no doubt is owing chiefly to the different readings in the Latin copies from which the translators made their versions. But as the learned, judicious, and accurate Gottlieb Cortius, by comparing a great many of the oldest manuscripts with one another, has lately, with immense labour and pains, furnished the world with a correct edition of the Latin, the following translation is done from it; which, as it is a great, so it is a peculiar advantage.

And as Cortius has not only restored the writings of Sallust, in a great measure, to their original purity, by clearing them of many spurious interpolations, and other corruptions, with which for several ages they had been sullied and deformed, but has also illustrated and adorned them by a great many judicious comments and explications; I have thought proper to cull out the most material and useful of them, and have added a few more, collected from other writers, which will, in my opinion, contribute greatly to a right understanding of Sallust. And here the reader is desired to notice, that all the Latin notes, except a very few that have their authors quoted, are taken from Cortius; the English notes are partly gathered from him, and partly made out from other authors. The reader will perhaps wish that all the notes had been in English: and this at first indeed was my design; but I found that some few of them would not appear in an English dress with the same advantage they do in Latin: the rest, which make by far the greatest number, are adduced, purely to show that I have translated Sallust in the same sense in which the learned Cortius understood him. In both these cases, therefore, I dropt my first intention; and as all the Latin notes come under one or other of these heads, I hope the reasons given will be looked upon as a sufficient apology for their being in Latin.

In some few editions, the *Jugurthine War* is placed before the *Catilinarian;* which the editors have no doubt done purely out of regard to the order of time in which they happened: for the war with Jugurtha broke out about thirty-three years after the destruction of Carthage, and in the year of Rome 641; whereas *Catiline's Conspiracy* happened not till fifty years after, in the Consulship of Cicero, and year of Rome 691. However, in most editions *Catiline's Conspiracy* is placed first, as having been first written by the author, which appears from what is said in the fourth chapter; and this is the order I have followed.

The orthography or spelling, in a good many words of the following Latin, besides those taken notice of in the notes, is a little different from that which obtains in the common editions of Sallust. This the reader must look upon, not as casual, but as the consequence of their being conformed by Cortius to the most ancient and authentic manuscripts. And this edition has with such care been adjusted to that of Cortius, not only in this, but in all other respects, that, I hope, it shall be found to want nothing of the accuracy of that excellent pattern. And in some few things, I may say, it is more perfect and correct: for the *Ablatives of the first declension* and other *doubtful cases,* are here ascertained, by having their proper mark placed over the final vowel, or the vowel of the final syllable; and such *Adverbs* as are of an ambiguous nature, or which a *Tyro* may be ready to take for *Adjectives* or other *parts of speech,* have the mark of the *Adverb* superinscribed. Again, several typographical escapes or other blunders have crept into Cortius's edition, which are not taken notice of among his *Errata:* these are here rectified from the authority of his notes; as the reader may see, Cat. cap. xviii. n. 2. Jug. cap. xli. n. 2. cap. lxxxvii. n. 2. cap. xcvii. n. 5. cap. cii. n. 2.

Encouraged by the favourable reception the following performance met with on its first publication, and especially by the approbation some gentlemen of skill have on different occasions been pleased to express, I have with great care revised the whole. Some typographical mistakes, that had escaped observation in the first edition, are now rectified; several new notes are added, and some expressions in the translation altered; and nothing is omitted or neglected that I could think had a tendency to improve the book, or render it more useful and acceptable to the reader.

I shall conclude by observing, that at Leipsic, where Cortius's Sallust was printed, and in other places of Germany, and in Holland too, they use two kinds of *points:* the one, called *punctum majusculum*, or *the great point*, is affixed to the end of a complete or perfect sentence, being the same as the *point* or *punctum* used in Britain and France, and is always followed by a capital; the other, called *punctum minusculum*, or *the little point*, is an interpunction betwixt the *great point* and the *colon* or *semicolon;* its strength or force being less than that of the *great point*, and somewhat greater than those of the other two, and is known by the word following, which always begins with a small letter, and never with a capital. This little point, for the sake of uniformity in the text and version, is adopted in the translation.

CAII CRISPI SALLUSTII

# BELLUM CATILINARIUM;

SIVE

## DE CONJURATIONE CATILINÆ,

EJUSQUE SOCIORUM.

I. Omnis homines, qui sese student præstare cæteris animalibus, summâ ope niti decet, vitam silentio ne transeant, veluti pecora, quæ natura prona atque ventri obedientia finxit. Sed nostra omnis vis in animo et corpore sita: animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum dîs, alter-

I. *It becomes all men, who aspire to excel other animals, to labour with the utmost might, not to pass their life in silence, as cattle, which nature has formed grovelling and subject to the belly. Now, all our ability is seated in the soul and body. In most cases we use the direction of the soul, the service of the body; the one is common to us with the gods, the other with the brutes.*

### EXPLANATORY NOTES.

I. 1. *Omnis*] According to the orthography that obtained in the days of Sallust, who flourished about the year of Rome 702, and in the time of the civil wars betwixt Pompey and J. Cæsar, he writes *omnis* for *omnes*, *alacris* for *alacres*, *communis* for *communes*, *civis* for *cives*, *hostis* for *hostes*, *urbis* for *urbes*, and so of other nouns that have *ium* in the genitive plural. This too is frequently to be met with in Cæsar and Cicero; as also, in Livy, Virgil, Horace, and other writers in the reign of Augustus.

2. *Prona atque ventri obedientia*] *Prona* here properly signifies *looking downward to the earth;* and *ventri obedientia* may be rendered *slaves to the belly*, i. e. *to appetite and lust.*

3. *Sed nostra*] Sallust frequently uses the conjunction *sed*, not as an *adversative*, but as as an *inceptive* or *introductive particle.*

4. *Magis utimur*] Hoc est, *animus* plerumque et justius *imperat*, corpus servit.

5. *Cum dis*] Sallust, in imitation of the ancients, whose manner he

um cum belluis commune est. Quò mihi rectius videtur, ingenii, quàm virium opibus gloriam quærere; et, quoniam vita ipsa, quâ fruimur, brevis est, memoriam nostrî quàm maxumè longam efficere. Nam divitiarum et formæ gloria fluxa atque fragilis: virtus clara æternaque habetur. Sed diu magnum inter mortalìs certamen fuit, vine corporis, an virtute animi, res militaris magis procederet. Nam et priùs, quam incipias, consulto; et, ubi consulueris, maturè facto opus est. Ita utrumque per se indigens, alterum alterius auxilio eget.

II. Igitur initio reges (nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit) diversi, pars ingenium, alii corpus exercebant; et jam tum vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur, sua

*Wherefore to me it appears better to pursue glory by the abilities of the mind, than of bodily strength; and, since the life itself, which we enjoy, is short, to make the remembrance of us as lasting as possible. For the splendor of riches and beauty is fleeting and frail: virtue is glorious and everlasting. But for a long time it was a great dispute among men, whether warlike achievements succeeded more by strength of body, or ability of mind. For before you enter upon action, there is need of deliberation; and, when you have deliberated, there is need of a speedy execution. Thus both being deficient by themselves, the one needs the assistance of the other.*

II. *Wherefore in ancient times, kings (for that was the first title of empire in the world)* were *divided* in their sentiments; *part cultivated the mind, others the body: at that time the life of men was led without covetousness,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

much affects, writes commonly *dîs* for *diis*, *îs* for *iis*, *îsdem* for *iisdem*, *îdem* for *iidem*, *quîs* for *quibus*, &c.

6. *Memoriam nostrî*] *Nostrî* is in this place the genitive plural of the pronoun *ego*. And *memoria nostrî* has a very different signification from *memoria nostra*. The former denotes the memory of us among posterity, the latter imports the memory or remembrance we ourselves have of predecessors, or things past.

7. *Quam maxumè*] Observe again our author's attachment to the old orthography. He scarcely ever fails to write *maxumus* for *maximus*, *minumus* for *minimus*, *optumus* for *optimus*, *pulcherrumus* for *pulcherrimus*, *lubido* for *libido*, *æstumo* for *æstimo*, *faciundum* for *faciendum*, *petundi* for *petendi*, &c.

II. 1. *Vita—agitabatur*] Our author loves to express himself by *frequentatives*, and often uses them much in the same sense as their *primitives*; as *ductare exercitum*, *agitare lætitiam*, *adventare cum exercitu*, *mœnia defensare*, *objectare periculis*, &c.

cuique satis placebant. Postea verò quàm in Asiâ Cyrus, in Græciâ Lacedæmonii et Athenienses cœpêre urbes atque nationes subigere, lubidinem dominandi caussam belli habere, maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio putare: tum demum periculo atque negotiis compertum est, in bello plurimùm ingenium posse. Quod si regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in pace ita, uti in bello, valeret, æquabilius atque constantiùs sese res humanæ haberent; neque aliud aliò ferri, neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres. Nam imperium facilè his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. Verùm ubi pro labore, desidia; pro continentiâ et æquitate, lubido atque superbia invasere; fortuna simul cum moribus immutatur. ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a minùs bono transfertur. Quæ

*every one was sufficiently satisfied with his own. But after Cyrus in Asia, the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in Greece began to subdue cities and nations,* and *to account the lust of sovereignty a sufficient ground of war,* and *to reckon the greatest glory* consisted *in the greatest empire; then at length by trial and experience it was found, that a judicious head was most serviceable in war. And if the virtue of the minds of kings and rulers were as vigorous in peace as in war, human affairs would keep themselves more uniform and fixed; nor should you see the property of things shifting from one to another, nor all things changed and put in confusion. For dominion is easily maintained, by the same arts by which at first it was acquired. But when instead of industry, idleness; instead of moderation and equity, ambition and pride come in; fortune is changed together with manners. thus empire always passes from the less worthy to the most excellent. In agriculture, navigation, and*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Periculo atque negotiis*] Some take this to mean the same as *periculosis negotiis, by dangerous enterprises.* This kind of figure, or mode of expression, is used by Justin, II. ii. *Lanæ iis usus ac vestium ignotus est,* i. e. *lanearum vestium.*

3. *Verum ubi*] Sallust commonly puts *ubi* for *cum, quando,* or *postquam;* and sometimes *ibi* for *tunc* or *tum,* as *Jug.* cap. xlix. *Ibi commutatis ordinibus.*

4. *Et æquitate*] The word *æquitas,* as it stands here opposed to *superbia,* signifies one's behaving as on a level with others, and not aspiring above them: but the English language affords no proper word that I know of to render it by.

homines arant, navigant, ædificant, virtuti omnia parent. Sed multi mortales dediti ventri atque somno, indocti incultique vitam, sicuti peregrinantes transegêre; quibus, profectò contra naturam, corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. eorum ego vitam mortemque juxtà æstumo, quoniam de utrâque siletur. Verùm enimverò is demum mihi vivere atque frui animâ videtur, qui aliquo negotio intentus, præclari facinoris, aut artis bonæ famam quærit. Sed, in magnâ copiâ rerum, aliud alii natura iter ostendit.

III. Pulchrum est benè facere reipublicæ; etiam bené dicere, haud absurdum est: vel pace vel bello clarum fieri licet: et qui fecêre, et qui facta aliorum

*architecture, all things are the price of virtue. But many men, abandoned to eating and sleeping, illiterate and unpolished, have spent their life like people in a strange country; to whom, contrary indeed to nature, the body was a pleasure, the soul a burden. I reckon the life and death of these much the same, since silence prevails over both. But indeed he appears to me truly to live, and enjoy life, who, engaged in some business, pursues the glory of an illustrious action or profitable art. But in the great multitude of employments, nature has pointed out a different road to a different genius.*

III. *'Tis a fine thing to act well for the commonwealth; and to speak well, is not despicable: one may become famous either in peace or war: many are celebrated as well as they who*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

5. *Quæ homines arant,* &c.] This place will not admit of a literal translation; but the meaning is, that the arts of agriculture, navigation, and architecture, are all the offspring and produce of virtue, *i. e.* of the powers of the mind well conducted. That this is the sense our author intends, is obvious, by considering, that all along he has been pointing out the excellency of the intellectual powers; such as, 1. Their preference to riches and beauty. 2. Their being more conducive to success in warlike affairs, than bodily strength. 3. The useful influence they may have in matters of policy and government. And now, 4. He observes, that it is to them we owe the invention, the various improvements, the numberless advantages of agriculture, navigation, architecture, and all the other arts of life. Apuleius de mundo, p. 27. *Omne humanæ vitæ præsidium* ingenio *ejus est paratum: cultus* agrorum, *usus* frugum, artificum *solertia, proventus* artium, *commoditatesque vitæ humanæ.*

*Virtuti parent,* is much like that of Horace, II. sat. iii. ver. 94. *Omnis enim res, Virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris* Divitiis parent.

scripsêre multi laudantur. Ac mihi quidem, tamen etsi haudquaquam par gloria sequatur scriptorem et auctorem rerum; tamen in primis arduum videtur res gestas scribere; primùm, quòd facta dictis sunt exæquanda; dehinc, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malèvolentiâ et invidiâ putant: ubi de magnâ virtute et gloriâ bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque facilia factu putat, æquo animo accipit; supra ea, veluti ficta, pro falsis ducit. Sed ego adolescentulus initio, sicuti plerique, studio ad rempublicam latus sum, ibique mihi advorsa multa fuêre. Nam pro pudore, pro abstinentiâ, pro virtute; audacia, largitio, avaritia vigebant. Quæ tametsi animus aspernabatur, insolens malarum artium; tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla ætas ambitione corrupta tenebatur: ac me, cùm ab

*have acted,* as *they who have wrote the actions of others. And to me indeed, though by no means an equal glory attends the historian and the hero;* yet, I say, *it seems eminently difficult to write a history; first, because the actions are to be equalled by the expression; and next, because a great many think, your censuring miscarriages, whatever they be, proceeds from malice and envy: when you speak of the great bravery and glory of worthy men, what any one thinks easy for himself to do, he receives with an unprejudiced mind;* what you advance *beyond this, he reckons for false, as if forged* by you. *But I at first, when a young man, like a great many others, was carried by inclination to state affairs, and there many things were cross to me. For instead of modesty, instead of moderation, instead of merit; impudence, bribery,* and *avarice universally prevailed. Which though my mind, unaccustomed to vile practices, abhorred; yet amidst so*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

III. 1. *Tamen et si*] This was the ancient manner of writing, which authors, in after times, contracted into *tametsi:* and Sallust sometimes does so too.

2. *Advorsa*] Here again Sallust follows the ancients, who wrote *advorsus, advortitur, vorsus, vortex,* &c. for *adversus, advertitur,* &c.

3. *Audacia, largitio, avaritia*] In such sentences as this the posterior words do not always refer, or are not always opposed to the preceding ones, according to the order of their position. For here *audacia* is opposed to *pudor, largitio* to *virtus,* and *avaritia* to *abstinentia,* Cap. xiv. *Quos* manus *atque* lingua, perjurio *aut* sanguine *civili alebat.* Where *perjurio* refers to *lingua,* and *sanguine* to *manus.* Cic. Copiis, tunicis, frumentoque *suppeditato, exercitus nostros* vestivit, aluit, armavit.

reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus honoris cupido, eadem, quæ cæteros, fama atque invidia vexabat.

*great vices my tender age was insnared and caught by* the baits of *ambition: and though I was disengaged from the vicious customs of others, yet the same itch for preferment, the obloquy too and odium that disquieted the rest, made me uneasy.*

IV. Igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit, et mihi reliquam ætatem à republicâ procul habendam decrevi; non fuit consilium socordiâ atque desidiâ bonum otium conterere: neque verò agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, ætatem agere: sed à quo incepto studio me ambitio mala detinuerat, eòdem regressus, statui res gestas populi Romani carptim, ut quæque memoriâ digna videbantur, perscribere; eò magis, quòd mihi à spe, metu, partibus reipublicæ,

IV. *Therefore, when, after many perplexities and dangers, my mind got rest, and I resolved the rest of my time should be spent at a distance from public business; it was not my intention to waste a valuable retirement in sloth and idleness; nor yet, employed in servile offices, to spend my life in tilling the ground or hunting: but returning to the same study, from which, after it was begun, pernicious ambition had diverted me, I resolved to write a history of the Roman people, picking and culling, as any thing appeared worthy of record; and the rather, because my mind was free from hope, fear,* and *the factions of the*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Honoris cupido,* &c.] Et quamvis supra dictis malis moribus minus infectus essem, tamen honores affectabam in republica, et quia affectabam, malignâ famâ istis hominibus adnumerabar, inque eandem invidiam incidebam. Me vexabat honoris cupido, et vexabat *propterea* etiam eadem, quæ cæteros, fama atque invidia.

IV. 1. *Servilibus officiis*] Our author does not mean by this expression, that agriculture and hunting are business proper only for slaves, since princes, and great men in all ages, have been thus employed; but that they are in a great measure corporeal, and consequently mean or low, when compared to the more noble exercises of the mind: and therefore, we are to take *servilia officia* here, in opposition purely to *artes animi; as* in cap. i. *Imperio animi, corporis servitio magis utimur.*

2. *A spe, metu, partibus*] Another author would perhaps have said *à spe, metu, et partibus;* but Longinus *de sublimi* observes that the frequent use of

animus liber erat. Igitur de Catilinæ conjuratione, quàm verissume potero, paucis absolvam. nam id facinus in prìmis ego memorabile existumo, sceleris atque periculi novitate. De cujus hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt, quàm initium narrandi faciam.

V. LUCIUS CATILINA nobili genere natus, magnâ vi et animi et corporis, sed ingenio malo pravoque. Huic ab adolescentiâ bella intestina, cædes, rapinæ, discordia civilis, grata fuere; ibique juventutem suam exercuit. Corpus patiens inediæ, vigiliæ, algoris, supra quàm cuique credibile est. Animus audax, subdolus, varius, cujus rei libet simulator ac dissimulator; alieni appetens, sui profusus, ardens in cupiditatibus; satis loquentiæ, sapientiæ parum. Vastus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta, semper cupiebat.

*state. Accordingly, I shall discuss briefly* the story *of Catiline's conspiracy, with as great a regard to truth as I can. for I esteem that enterprise eminently remarkable for the strangeness of the wickedness and danger* that attended it. *Concerning the character of which man, a few things are to be premised, before I enter upon the narration.*

V. *LUCIUS CATILINE, descended of a noble family,* was a man *of great vigour, both of mind and body, but of a wicked and perverse disposition. Intestine wars, bloodshed, robberies, civil broils were agreeable to him from his tender years; and in these he employed his youth. His body* was *able to endure hunger, want of sleep,* and *cold, above what is credible to any one. His mind daring, crafty, could assume any shape, forge any falsehood, and dissemble any truth; was covetous of what belonged to others, lavish of his own, eager in his desires; had abundance of talk,* but *little judgment. His insatiable soul was ever pursuing extravagant,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

copulatives renders the style flat and languid Sallust, sensible of this, uses them very sparingly. Cap. xi. *Gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus, ignavus æque sibi exoptant.* Cap. xiv. *Omnes, quos flagitium egestas, conscius animus exagitabant.* Jug. cap. li. *Arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti.* Cap. lx. *Clamor permixtus hortatione, lætitiâ, gemitu.* And so in a hundred other places.

3. *Paucis absolvam*] To make the sentence full and grammatical, we may understand *narrationem, historiam,* or some such word, as in the translation.

V. 1. *Varius*] Hic *versipellem* quem dicunt, denotat, et cui ingenium versatile ad omnia fuerit.

Hunc post dominationem Lucii Sullæ, lubido maxuma invaserat reipublicæ capiundæ: neque id quibus modis adsequeretur, dum sibi regnum pararet, quidquam pensi habebat. Agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox inopiâ rei familiaris, et conscientiâ scelerum; quæ utraque his artibus auxerat, quas suprà memoravi. Incitabant præterea corrupti civitatis mores, quos pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque avaritia, vexabant. Res ipsa hortari videtur, quoniam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, suprà repetere, ac paucis instituta majorum domi militiæque, quomodo rempublicam habuerint, quantamque reliquerint: ut paullatim immutata, ex pulcherrumâ, pessuma, ac flagitiosissuma facta sit, disserere.

*incredible*, and *too lofty projects. After the tyrannical usurpation of Lucius Sulla, a very great desire of seizing the government had possessed him: nor had he any regard by what means he might compass that*, so *be he could procure the sovereign power to himself. His haughty spirit was disquieted more and more every day, by the narrowness of his fortune, and a sense of guilt; both which he had increased by those practices which I mentioned above. Moreover the debauched manners of the state spurred him on, which luxury and avarice, vices of the worst kind, and opposite to one another, had corrupted. Since this occasion has put us in mind of the manners of the state, the subject itself seems to advise us to run back, and in a few words recount the usages of our ancestors at home and in war, how they managed the commonwealth, and how great they left it: how by degrees* it has been *changed*, and *of the most glorious is become very bad, and scandalously vicious.*

VI. Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidêre atque habuêre initio Trojani, qui, Æneâ duce, pro-

VI. *The Trojans, as I have heard, first built and inhabited the city Rome, who flying their country, under the conduct of Æ-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Civitatis mores, quos*] The pronoun *quos* refers not to *mores*, but to *civitatis*, and is, by virtue of the sense, put masculine and plural, as if the antecedent had been *civium*. Other instances of the like nature occur in Sallust, chap. xvii. *Simul confisum, si* conjuratio *valuisset, facile apud* illos *se principem fore.* Where *illos* refers to *conjuratio*, and *apud illos* signifies the same as *apud conjuratos.* Cap. xxxix. Plebis—*animos.* eorum *arrexit.* Jug. cap. xiv. Familia *nostra cum populo Romano amicitiam instituit*, quorum *progeniem nolite pati frustra à vobis auxilium petere.*

fugi, sedibus incertis vagabantur: cumque his Aborigines, genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum. Hi postquam in una mœnia convenêre, dispari genere, dissimili linguâ, alius alio more viventes; incredibile memoratu est, quàm facilè coaluerint. Sed postquam res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospera satisque pollens videbatur; sicuti pleraque mortalium habentur, invidia ex opulentiâ orta est. Igitur reges populique finitumi bello tentare: pauci ex amicis auxilio esse. nam cæteri, metu percussi, à periculis aberant. At Romani domi militiæque intenti festinare,

*neas, strolled about without any settled habitation: and with them the Aborigines, a wild sort of people, without laws, without government, free* from the curb of authority, *and under no restraint* from penal sanctions. *After these came into one city,* though *of a different descent, of a different language, each living after a different manner; it is incredible to relate, how easily they incorporated. But when their state, enriched with citizens, institutions,* and *territories, seemed abundantly prosperous, and sufficiently powerful; as is the fate of almost all human enjoyments, envy sprung out of affluence. Accordingly the neighbouring princes and states attacked them by war: a few* only *of their friends were assisting. for the rest, struck with*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

VI. 1. *Aborigines*] Commentators are divided about this word. Some few think it may be taken appellatively, and signify the old natives, or first inhabitants of Italy; but most are of opinion, that it is a proper name of some people, who came into Italy in the early ages of the world, but from what country is uncertain.

2. *Alius alio more viventes*] That is, *alius vivens hoc more, alius vivens alio more.* And hence *alius* in such concise expressions, because of its partitive, and consequently plural signification, is frequently joined with nouns and verbs plural. Cap. xxii. Alius *alii tanti facinoris* conscii. Cap. lii. Alius *alium* expectantes. Liv. II. cap. x. *Dum* alius *alium* circumspectant. *Alter* admits of the same construction, Senec. epist. cxiv. *Hæc vitia cæteri imitantur, et* alter *alteri* tradunt. And so of several other partitives.

3. *Bello tentare*] *Tentare* is here put for *tentabant*, a mode of expression familiar not only to Sallust, but usual in most historians; who, to render their periods smooth and glib, and make their language keep pace, in some sort, with the quickness of the actions they would express, and with the fire of their own imagination, generally affect the use of infinitives, and neglect the indicatives as more clogged and heavy. It is needless to adduce instances; the next sentence is one, presently after you have five, and almost every chapter will afford more.

parare, alius alium hortari, hostibus obviàm ire, libertatem, patriam, parentesque armis tegere. post, ubi pericula virtute propulerant, sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant: magisque dandis quam accipiundis beneficiis amicitias parabant. Imperium legitumum, nomen imperii regium habebant: delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientiâ validum, reipublicæ consultabant. hi vel ætate, vel curæ similitudine, PATRES appellabantur. Post, ubi regium imperium, quod initio conservandæ libertatis, atque augendæ reipublicæ fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque convertit; immutato more, annua imperia, binosque imperatores sibi fecêre. eo modo minumè posse putabant per licentiam insolescere animum humanum.

*fear, kept at a distance from dangers. But the Romans, watchful at home and in war, were active, made preparations, animated one another, marched out against their enemies,* and *with their arms protected their liberty, country and parents. afterwards, when they had repelled the dangers by their bravery, they carried assistance to their neighbours and friends: and procured alliances more by conferring than receiving favours. They had a government bounded by laws, and the form of that government monarchic: select persons, whose bodies were in decay by years,* but *their minds in their prime for wisdom, acted as council of state for the public interest. These, either from their age or in allusion to their charge, were called* FATHERS. *Afterwards when the kingly government, which had been* erected *at first for the preservation of liberty, and advancing the republic, turned into haughtiness and tyranny; changing that model, they made for themselves two magistrates with annual authority. by that means, they thought the minds of men could least of all turn insolent through excess of power.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Parentesque*] By *parentes* is chiefly meant, in this place, the people that were superannuate, and thereby rendered unfit for the service.

5. *Conservandæ libertatis*] Some of the commentators understand here *gratiâ* or *causâ*, but Cortius is positive that there is no occasion for this, and maintains that it is the same kind of construction, as *vir multæ lectionis, puer probæ indolis,* and the like; and may be resolved thus, *ubi regium imperium quod, initio fuerat* imperium *conservandæ libertatis,* i.e. *ad conservandam libertatem comparatum.* An expression of the same kind we meet with, Jug. cap. lxxxviii, *Quæ postquam gloriosa modò neque belli patrandi cognovit.*

VII. Sed eâ tempestate cœpêre se quisque extollere, magisque ingenium in promptu habere. Nam regibus boni quàm mali suspectiores sunt, semperque his aliena virtus formidolosa est. Sed civitas, incredibile memoratu est, adeptâ libertate, quantum brevi creverit, tanta cupido gloriæ incesserat Jam primum juventus, simul laboris ac belli patiens erat, in castris per usum militiam discebat; magisque in decoris armis et militaribus equis, quam in scortis atque conviviis, lubidinem habebant. Igitur talibus viris non labos insolitus, non locus ullus asper aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidolosus; virtus omnia domuerat. Sed gloriæ maxumum certamen inter ipsos erat: sese quisque hostem ferire, murum adscendere, conspici dum tale facinus faceret, pro-

VII. *Now at this time every one began to rouse themselves, and in a more open manner to exert their faculties. For men of worth are more suspected by kings than fellows that are good for nothing, and great abilities in others are always matter of dread to them. But the state, having obtained its liberty, it is incredible to say, how great it grew in a short time, such an appetite for glory had now prevailed. Now for the first time the youth, as soon as they were capable of exercise and arms, learned the art of war by practice in the camp; and had more pleasure in handsome armour and war-horses, than in courtesans and gormandizing. Wherefore to such men hardship was not strange, no place rugged or difficult, an armed enemy not terrible: magnanimity had surrounded every thing. But there was a very great emulation for glory among them: every one was in haste to wound an enemy, to scale the walls,* and *to be seen whilst he was performing such an action: they*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

VII. 1. *Cœpere se quisque*] There again observe the partitive *quisque* taking the plural verb *cœpere*, Jug. cap. lviii. *Sibi* quisque *pro moribus* consulunt.

2. *Adeptâ libertate*] *Adeptâ* is here used passively: thus Jug. cap. ci. *Dum prope jam* adeptam victoriam *retinere cupit*. Plaut. Trin. act. ii, sc. 11: ver. 88. *Non ætate, verum ingenio* adipiscitur *sapientia*. Cic. de senec. cap. ii. *Senectutem ut adipiscantur omnes optant: eandem accusant* adeptam. Suet. Tib. cap. xxxviii. *Post* adeptum *imperium pedem porta non extulit*.

3. *In castris per usum*] The Romans had other ways of learning the art of war, namely, by the exercises in which the youth were trained in the *campus Martius*, in the *gymnasia* or schools, and by books of military instructions written for this purpose.

perabat: eas divitias, eam bonam famam magnamque nobilitatem putabant: laudis avidi, pecuniæ liberales erant: gloriam ingentem, divitias honestas volebant. Memorare possem, quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parvâ manu fuderit, quas urbîs, naturâ munitas, pugnando ceperit; nì ea res longiùs ab incepto traheret.

*accounted that riches, that true honour, and great nobility: they were covetous of praise, liberal of their money: they desired great glory,* but *moderate wealth. I could relate, in what places the Roman people routed very great forces of the enemy with a small handful, what cities fortified by nature they took sword in hand; were it not that this would carry us too far from our purpose.*

VIII. Sed profectò Fortuna in omni re dominatur: ea res cunctas ex lubidine magis quàm ex vero celebrat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestæ, sicuti ego æstumo, satis amplæ magnificæque fuêre; verùm aliquanto minores tamen, quàm famâ feruntur. Sed quia provenêre ibi scriptorum magna ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui fecêre, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis eam potuêre extollere præclara ingenia. At populo Roma-

VIII. *But indeed Fortune has a mighty sway in every thing: she exalts and depresses all things out of caprice, rather than according to truth. The actions of the Athenians, as I imagine, were great and glorious enough; but yet somewhat less than they are represented by fame. But because authors of great genius were produced there, the exploits of the Athenians are celebrated for the greatest throughout the world. Thus the conduct of those who acted is accounted as great, as these bright wits could magnify it in their writings. But the Roman people never had that ad-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Eas divitias*] i. e. *eas divitias* esse veras *divitias, eam* famam esse *bonam famam,* eam *que* nobilitatem esse *magnam nobilitatem putabant.*

5. *Ni ea res*] Some authors would have said *ni id;* but Sallust places an elegancy in joining *res* with the relative pronoun. Cap. ix. Quarum rerum *ego maxuma documenta habeo.* Cap. xviii. Ea res *consilium diremit.* Jug. cap. lxxiii. Ea res *frustra fuit.* Cap. lxxv. Eaque res *multum animis eorum addidit.* Cap. lxxix. Eam rem *locus admonuit.* Cap. lxxxii. Quam rem *alii in superbiam vortebant.* Cap. lxxxiv. *Sed* ea res *frustra sperata,* &c. And therefore, it is hoped, the reader will not be surprised to find such expressions sometimes Englished by *this* or *which.*

no nunquam ea copia fuit: quia prudentissumus quisque negotiosus maxumè erat: ingenium nemo sine corpore exercebat: optumus quisque facere, quàm dicere; sua ab aliis benefacta laudari, quàm ipse aliorum narrare malebat.

IX. Igitur domi militiæque boni mores colebantur: concordia maxuma, minuma avaritia erat: jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis, quàm naturâ valebat. Jurgia, discordias, simultates cum hostibus exercebant: cives cum civibus de virtute certabant. in suppliciis deorum magnifici, domi parci, in amicis fideles erant. Duabus his artibus, audaciâ in bello, ubi pax evenerat æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Quarum rerum ego maxuma documenta hæc habeo, quòd sæpiùs vindicatum est in eos, qui contra imperium in hos-

*vantage: because every wisest man was most engaged in business: no body improved his mind without* regard to *his body: every brave soul chose rather to act than write;* and *that his own merits should be celebrated by others,* rather *than that he should relate* those *of other men.*

IX. *Good morals therefore were cultivated both at home and abroad in the wars: very great was their unanimity, very small their desires; justice and kind offices prevailed amongst them not more by* force *of laws, than inclination. They had quarrels, differences, feuds,* only *with enemies: citizens with citizens contended about virtue. they were pompous in the worship of the gods, frugal at home, faithful to their friends. According to these two virtues,* viz. *bravery in war,* and *equity when peace happened, did they regulate themselves and the public affairs. Of which conduct I have these very great proofs, that punishment was oftener inflicted on them, who had*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

VIII. *Copia fuit*] *Copia* non solum *abundantiam*, sed et *opportunitatem*, et *præsentiam*, et *facultatem* notat, quod ex locutione *copiam rei alicui facere* apparet. Et hoc posteriori significatu hic accipiendum est.

IX. 1. *In amicis fideles*] i. e. *erga amicos.* The preposition *in* what the ablative in this sense is frequent, not only in Sallust, but in other authors. Cap. xi. *Fœda crudeliaque* in civibus *facinora facere.* Cap. li. *Quid* in illis *jure fieri posset.* Cap. liii. *Quid* in illis *statuamus. Sunt misericordes* in furibus *ærarii.* Jug. cap. lviii. *Pauci* in pluribus *minus frustrati.* Cæs. B. G. ii. cap. 32. *Se id quod* in nervis *fecisset, facturum.* Justin. xxxviii. cap. 6. *Neque* in se uno *sed* in aliis omnibus, *hac semper arte grassatus.* Ovid v. Trist. eleg. ii. ver. 36. *Sæpe* suo *victor lenis* in hoste *fuit.*

tem pugnaverant, quique tardiùs, revocati, bello excesserant, quàm qui signa relinquere, aut pulsi, loco cedere ausi erant. In pace verò, quôd beneficiis quàm metu imperium agitabant, et, acceptâ injuriâ, ignoscere, quàm persequi malebant.

*fought against the enemy contrary to orders, and them, who came off from battle too late when recalled, than* upon those *who had adventured to abandon their standards, or, when beat, to quit their post. And, in peace, they managed the administration* more *by methods of mildness than terror; and, an injury being received, they chose rather to forgive, than revenge it.*

X. Sed ubi labore atque justitiâ respublica crevit, reges magni bello domiti, nationes feræ et populi ingentes vi subacti, Carthago, æmula imperii Romani, ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terræque patebant: sævire Fortuna, ac miscere omnia, cœpit. Qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facilè toleraverant, iis otium, divitiæ, optandæ aliis, oneri miseriæque fuêre. Igitur primò pecuniæ, deinde imperii, cupido crevit: ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuêre. Namque avaritia, fidem, probitatem, cæterasque artîs bonas, subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negle-

X. *But when by industry and justice the republic became great, mighty princes were subdued in war, savage nations and potent states reduced by force, Carthage, the rival of the Roman empire, utterly destroyed, all seas and lands laid open: Fortune began to rage, and confound all. Peace and plenty,* things *desirable to others, were a burden and plague to them, who* formerly *had endured fatigue, dangers, straitening and distressing circumstances, with ease. Accordingly first the love of money, and then of power, grew upon them: these were in a manner the source of all evils. For avarice destroyed faith, honesty, and other good qualities: in room of these it taught* them *pride, cruelty, to despise the gods, to make sale of*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Beneficiis quàm metu*] The suppressing of *magis* is an usual and elegant *ellipsis*, not only in Sallust, but in other classic authors. Cap. xx. *Nisi vos servire*, quàm *imperare parati estis*. Cap. xlviii. *Tanta vis hominis leniunda*, quam *exagitanda videbatur*. Cap. lii. *Res autem monet, cavere ab illis*, quàm *quid in illis statuamus consultare*. Terent. Andr. prolog. *Qui placere se studeat bonis*, quàm *plurimis*.

X. 1. *Carthago, æmula imperii Romani*] See Jug. cap. xix. note 4.

2. *Deos neglegere*] This is old orthography, the modern authors write *negligere*. Instances of the like nature we have, Jug. cap. xxxi. *intellegetis* for *intelligetis*. Cap. cviii. *dilegeret* for *diligeret*.

gere, omnia venalia habere, edocuit. Ambitio multos mortalîs falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in linguâ promtum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo æstumare; magisque vultum, quàm ingenium bonum habere. Hæc primó paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari. post ubi, contagio quasi, pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata, imperium ex justissumo atque optumo, crudele intolerandumq; factum.

XI. Sed primó magis ambitio, quàm avaritia, animos hominum exercebat; quod tamen vitium propiùs virtutem erat. Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium, bonus, ignavus æqué sibi exoptant: sed ille verâ viâ nititur; huic quia bonæ artes desunt, dolis atque fallaciis contendit. Avaritia pecuniæ studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit. ea, quasi venenis ma-

*every thing. Ambition compelled a world of people to be false; to have one thing locked up in their breast, another ready on their tongue; to value friendship and enmity not by their worth, but according to interest; and to keep rather a fair countenance, than an honest heart. These* vices *grew up insensibly at first,* and *were sometimes punished: afterward when, by a kind of infection, the plague had spread, the state was altered, the government, of the most just and best, became cruel and intolerable.*

XI. *But at first, ambition influenced the minds of men more than avarice; which vice however was nearer to virtue. For the brave and the base-spirited equally wish for to themselves glory, honour,* and *power: but the former pursues them in the right way; because good qualities are wanting to the latter, he aspires to them by trick and deceit. Avarice imports the love of money, which no wise man ever coveted. this tinctured*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Multos falsos*] *Falsos* is here to be understood actively for *fallentes*, i. e. cheats or rogues; and *false* in the English admits of the same sense. There are a good many adjectives and participial words of the like ambiguous nature; which, though properly passive, are yet frequently used in an active sense. Cap. v. *profusus* is used for *profundens*. *Nescius* denotes him who knows not, or him who is not known. *Surdus* is he who hears not, or he who is not heard. *Infestus* and *innoxius* are often active, and many others.

*Contagio quasi*] *Contagio* is in this place not the nominative, but the ablative; and signifies the same as *contactu*, denoting the manner in which the vices here mentioned, were propagated, and became universal. Flor. I. cap. xv. *Sabini quodam* contagio *belli se Latinis adjunxerant.*

lis imbuta, corpus animumque virilem effeminat: semper infinita, insatiabilis, neque copiâ neque inopiâ minuitur. Sed postquam L. Sulla, armis receptâ republicâ, bonis initiis malos eventus habuit; rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius, alius agros cupere: neque modum, neque modestiam victores habere, fœda crudeliaque in civibus facinora facere. Huc accedebat, quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in Asiam ductaverat, quò sibi fidum faceret, contra morem majorum, luxuriosé nimisque liberaliter habuerat. loca amœna, voluptaria, facilè in otio ferocîs militum animos molliverant. Ibi primùm insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare; signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cœlata mirari; ea privatim ac publicè rapere; delubra

*as it were with poisonous drugs, enervates the body and manly spirit: ever boundless* and *insatiable, it is reduced neither by plenty nor by want. But after L. Sulla, having recovered the commonwealth by force of arms, brought things to a pernicious issue, from fair beginnings; every one snatched and plundered, one coveted a house, another lands: the conquerors observed neither measure nor moderation;* but *practised abominable and cruel outrages upon their fellow-citizens. To this was added, that L. Sulla, contrary to the usage of our ancestors, had indulged the army, which he commanded in Asia, in dissolute practices and too much affluence, that he might render them trusty to himself. The pleasant voluptuous country* of Asia *had easily effeminated the rugged minds of the soldiers, in the time of peace. There first the army of the Roman people learned to wench, to drink; to admire statues, pictures,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XI. 1. *Receptâ republicâ*, &c.] The reader, in order to understand what Sallust here intends, must know, that Marius and his party had got the management of public affairs into their hands. This Sulla wrested from them by force of arms, which is the thing meant by the words *receptâ republicâ*. And his conduct thus far was good and laudable, and approved of by our author as such, in the words *bonis initiis*. But afterwards, as if he had conquered for himself, and not for his country, he engrossed the whole power into his own hands, slaughtered, proscribed, and banished most of the Marian faction, and tyrannized over the state: and this is what the words *malos eventus* point at. See the history in Florus, III. cap. xxi. and in Eutrop. V. cap. iv. vii. viii. ix.

2. *Quem in Asiam ductaverat*] i. e. *intra Asiam*. See cap. xix. note 3.

3. *Privatim ac publicè*] *Publicè* refers to the depredations that were

spoliare; sacra profanaque omnia polluere. Igitur hi milites, postquam victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecêre. Quippe secundæ res sapientium animos fatigant; ne illi corruptis moribus victoriæ temperarent.

*fine wrought plate; to make plunder of them privately and publicly; to pillage temples; to violate every thing sacred and profane. Wherefore these soldiers, after they obtained the victory, left nothing to the conquered. For success intoxicates* even *the minds of wise men; much less could they moderately use a victory, after their morals were debauched.*

XII. Postquam divitiæ honori esse cœpêre, et eas gloria, imperium, potentia sequebantur: hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentiâ duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria atque avaritia, cum superbiâ, invasêre: rapere, consumere; sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere; pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi atque moderati habere. Operæ pretium est, cúm domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exædificatas, visere templa deorum, quæ nostri majores, religiosissumi

XII. *After riches began to be an honor, and glory, command,* and *power attended them: virtue began to languish, poverty to be reckoned a disgrace, innocence to be taken for ill-nature. In consequence of their riches therefore, luxury and avarice, with pride, overran the youth: they ravaged, they wasted; valued their own little, coveted what belonged to others; they had no regard for modesty, chastity, things divine and human, made no difference, and kept no bounds in things. It is worth while, after you have viewed houses and manors reared up to the size of cities, to visit the temples of the gods, which our ancestors, a most devout set of men, built.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

made by the army in a regular manner, and in consequence of the general's order: *privatim* points at the rapine committed by the soldiers in a pilfering way, and without any such command.

XII. *Innocentia pro malevolentiâ*] By *innocentia* in this place, we are to understand abstinence from the base, oppressive, and wicked methods of amassing riches, then in fashion. Such was the degeneracy of the times, that any person who did abstain and keep himself clear from these prevailing corruptions, was thought to do so, not from a love of virtue, or principle of integrity, but out of spite against, and in opposition to those who fell in with them; and that in order to cast reproach upon them and their way, and blacken their character by the lustre of his example. And this I take to be the import of the word *malevolentiâ.*

mortales, fecêre. Verúm illi delubra deorum pietate, domos suâ gloriâ decorabant; neque victis quidquam præter injuriæ licentiam eripiebant. At hi contrà, ignavissumi homines, per summum scelus, omnia ea sociis adimêre, quæ fortissumi viri victores reliquerant: proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.

XIII. Nam quíd ea memorem, quæ nisi iis qui vidêre, nemini credibilia sunt: a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constructa esse, quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiæ; quippe, quas honestè habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem properabant. Sed lubido stupri, ganeæ, cæterique cultûs, non minor incesserat: viros pati muliebria, mulieres pudicitiam in propatulo habere; vescendi caussâ terrâ marique omnia exquirere; dormire priusquám somni cupido esset; non famem aut sitim, neque frigus, neque lassitudinem operiri, sed ea omnia luxu antecapere. Hæc juventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, ad faci-

*But they graced the temples of the gods with devotion, their houses with personal glory; nor did they take any thing from the conquered except the power of doing mischief. But these on the contrary, most worthless fellows, by the highest wickedness, took all those things from their allies, which these heroes,* their ancestors, *when conquerors, left them: just as if to do an injury, that truly were to exercise authority.*

XIII. *For why should I mention these things, which are credible to none but those who saw them: mountains levelled, seas built up by several private persons, to whom riches seem to me to have been a matter of sport; for, what they might have enjoyed honourably, they made all haste to abuse in a shameful manner. But no less an itch for amours, debauchery, and other such practices prevailed: the men prostituted themselves like women, the women exposed their chastity in an open manner; they ransacked land and sea to gratify their palate; went to rest before they had an inclination to sleep; did not wait for hunger, or thirst; nor cold, nor weariness: but anticipated all these by a voluptuous indulgence. These things pushed on the youth to villainous enterprises, when their private for-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XIII. *Honestè habere*] *Habere* non possidere hic notat, ut volunt interpretes. Nulla enim in possessione et coacervatione divitiarum honestas, sed in usu. Quare *honestè habere* intellige *tractare, uti,* hoc est, *bene impendere*. Tacit. IV. Ann. cap. xliv. *Lentulo fuerat bene tolerata paupertas, dein magnæ opes innocenter paratæ, et* modestè habitæ.

nora incendebant. Animus, imbutus malis artibus, haud facilè lubidinibus carebat: eo profusiùs omnibus modis quæstui atque sumtui deditus erat.

XIV. In tantâ tamque corruptâ civitate, Catilina, id quod factu facillumum erat, omnium flagitiorum atque facinorum circum se, tamquam stipatorum, catervas habebat. Nam quicumque impudicus, adulter, ganeo; manu, ventre, pene, bona patria laceraverat; quique alienum æs grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut facinus redimeret; præterea, omnes undique parricidæ, sacrilegi, convicti judiciis, aut pro factis judicium timentes; ad hoc, quos manus atque lingua, perjurio aut sanguine civili alebat; postremò, omnes quos flagitium, egestas, conscius animus exagitabat: ii Catilinæ proxumi familiaresque erant. Quód si quis etiam a culpâ vacuus in amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano usu atque illecebris facilè par similisque cæteris

*tunes had failed them. Their mind, habituated to vile practices, could not easily be restrained from licentious desires;* and *was so much the more excessively by all means addicted to getting and spending.*

XIV. *In so great and so debauched a state, Catiline kept about him, a thing that was very easy to be done, troops of all the rakes and ruffians, as* so many *life-guard men. For whatever catamite, adulterer, whoremonger, had squandered away his patrimony by profusion, luxury,* or *lewdness; and any who had contracted huge debts, to purchase a pardon for their knavery or villainy; besides, all parricides from every quarter, sacrilegious rascals, persons convicted on legal trials, or fearing a trial because of their crimes; and further, they whom their hand or tongue maintained by perjury, or bloodshed of citizens; finally all whom wickedness, want,* or *a guilty conscience disquieted; these were Catiline's nearest and intimate friends. And if any as yet free from a fault fell into his acquaintance; by daily converse, and enticements, he was easily made equal and like to the rest. But he courted chiefly the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XIV. *Flagitiorum atque facinorum*] are here put for *flagitiosorum* and *facinorosorum;* as cap. xxiv. *servitia* is put for *servi*, and cap. xxxvi. *vicinitas* for *vicini*, cap. xlviii. *conjuratio* for *conjurati*, and commonly *nobilitas* for *nobiles*, *juventus* for *juvenes*, &c. *i. e.* the *abstract* for the *concrete*.

2. *Quicumque impudicus*] Pathicus, sive qui patitur muliebria sic propriè vocatur. Justin VIII. cap. vi. *Alexandrum ad stupri consuetudinem perpulit, et* impudicum *fecit antequam regem.*

efficiebatur. Sed maxumè adolescentium familiaritates adpetebat: eorum animi molles et ætate fluxi, dolis haud difficultèr capiebantur. Nam, uti cujusque studium ex ætate flagrabat, aliis scorta præbere; aliis canes atque equos mercari; postremò, neque sumtui, neque modestiæ suæ parcere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque faceret. Scio fuisse nonnullos, qui ita æstumarent, juventutem, quæ domum Catilinæ frequentabat, parùm honestè pudicitiam habuisse; sed ex aliis rebus magis, quàm quòd cuiquam compertum foret, hæc fama valebat.

XV. Jam primùm, adolescens Catilina multa nefanda stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote Vestæ, alia hujuscemodi contra jus fasque. Postremò, captus amore Aureliæ Orestillæ, cujus præter formam, nihil um-

*friendship of the young men: their minds being soft and pliable by reason of their age, were catched with no difficulty by his stratagems. For, as every one's fancy, according to his age, was fired, he furnished whores to some; bought dogs and horses for others; in fine, he spared neither cost, nor his own reputation, provided he could make them subject and trusty. I know there were some, who were of opinion, that the youth, who frequented Catiline's house, were engaged in unnatural lewdness; but this rumour prevailed, more on account of other things, than that it was discovered for certain by any one.*

XV. *In the first place, Catiline, when a young fellow, had committed many abominable whoredoms, with a lady of quality, with a Vestal nun,* and *other pranks of this nature, contrary to law and religion. At last, smitten with a passion for Aurelia Orestilla, nothing*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Obnoxios fidosque*] *Arbitrio suo subjectos, et fideles, ut ibi timor, hic amor esset obsequii caussa.* Both these words denote an attachment to one's interest; the former, such as proceeds from fear, in this place, that arising from Catiline's knowledge of their guilt; and the latter, such as flows from the motive of love.

XV. 1. *Cum sacerdote Vestæ*] The Vestal virgins, four in number, were instituted by Numa. Their office was to attend upon the rites of the goddess Vesta, the chief part whereof was the preservation of the sacred fire. If any of them proved with-child, she was buried alive; and the man who violated her honour, was thought guilty of the most wicked and heinous crime. See Kennet's Ant. b. II. chap. vi.

2. *Contra jus fasque*] *Jus* lex humana est; *fas* lex divina. Isidor. V. orig. cap. ii.

quam bonus laudavit; quód ea nubere illi dubitabat timens privignum adultâ ætate: pro certo creditur, necato filio, vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse. Quæ quidem res mihi in primis videtur caussa fuisse facinoris maturandi. Namque animus impurus, dîs hominibusque infestus, neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita conscientia mentam excitam vastabat. Igitur colos exsanguis, fœdi oculi, citus modò, modò tardus incessus; prorsus in facie vultuque vecordia inerat.

*in whom a good man ever commended but her beauty; because she scrupled to marry him, for fear of his son, now at man's estate; it is believed for certain, that he made an empty house for the impious match, by murdering his son. Which thing, to me indeed, seems chiefly to have been the reason of his hastening on the plot. For his polluted soul, at enmity with gods and men, could neither be quieted by watching nor rest: a guilty conscience so harrassed his distracted mind. Accordingly his complexion was pale, his eyes ghastly, his gait sometimes quick, sometimes slow: there was a furious wildness in his face and countenance throughout.*

XVI. Sed juventutem, quam, ut suprà diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat. Ex illis testes signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem, fortunas, pericula vilia habere; post, ubi eorum famam atque pudorem attriverat, majora alia imperabat: si caussa peccandi in præsens minùs suppetebat, nihilo minus insontes, sicuti sontes, circumvenire, jugulare, scilicet ne per otium torpescerent manus aut animus, gratuitò potiùs malus atque crudelis erat. His amicis sociis-

XVI. *Now he trained up the youth, whom he had seduced, as we said above, to crimes, by various methods. From among them he furnished out false witnesses, and signers of forged deeds;* taught them *to set light by their honour, estates,* and *danger; afterwards, when he had rubbed off any regard they had to character and modesty, he enjoined them other greater villainies; if an occasion of doing mischief did not offer at present, nothing the less of this,* he set them on *to way-lay* and *murder those who had done him no injury, as much as if they had, that is, lest their hands*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XVI. 1. *Circumvenire, jugulare*] These words, as to their construction, depend upon *imperabat*, which is here understood.

que confisus Catilina, simul quód æs alienum per omnîs terras ingens erat, et quòd plerique Sullani milites, largiùs suo usi, rapinarum et victoriæ veteris memores, civile bellum exoptabant; opprimundæ reipublicæ consilium cepit. In Italiâ nullus exercitus: Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat: ipsi consulatum petundi magna spes; senatus nihil sanè intentus: tutæ tranquillæque res omnes: sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinæ.

*or mind should soften through disuse, he was rather wicked and cruel for nought. Catiline confiding in these friends and accomplices, withal* knowing *that the debts through all countries were great, and that most of Sulla's soldiers, having spent what they had of their own too prodigally,* and *mindful of their spoils and former success, were wishing for a civil war; entered into a design of ruining the commonwealth. There was no army in Italy: Cn. Pompey was carrying on a war in very remote countries: he himself had big hopes of standing candidate for the consulship; the senate was heeding nothing at all: all things were secure and quiet: now these circumstances were exceedingly favourable for Catiline.*

XVII. Igitur, circiter Kalendas Junias, L. Cæ-

XVII. *Wherefore, about the first of June, L. Cæsar and C.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *In extremis terris*] In Pontus and Armenia, carrying on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes.

3. *Consulatum petundi magna spes*] Every one was not at liberty to stand candidate for this high office: and probably there was something in Catiline's case which disqualified him at present, and which he was in hopes of getting removed, and so be in a condition to set up for the consulate. This conjecture is strongly supported by what is said to this purpose in cap. xviii.

XVII. 1. *Kalendas Junias*] The Romans had three remarkable days in each month, from which all the rest were denominated and computed, *viz.* the *Kalends*, *Nones*, and *Ides.*

In every month the first day was called *kalendæ.* In the months March, May, July, and October, the seventh day was called *nonæ*, and the fifteenth *idus.* But in all the other months of the year the fifth day was called *nonæ*, and the thirteenth *idus.*

In reckoning, they went backward in this manner. The day preceding the *kalends*, *nones*, or *ides*, was called *pridie kalendas*, or *pridie kalendarum*, *pridie nonas* or *nonarum*, *pridie idus* or *iduum.* The day before this was called *tertio kalendas, nonas, idus*, i. e. *tertio die ante kalendas, nonas, idus*, reckoning inclusively: or it was expressed thus, *tertio kalendarum, nonarum, iduum*, i. e. *tertio die kalendarum*, &c.

sare et C. Figulo Consulibus, primò singulos appellare: hortari alios, alios tentare: opes suas, imparatam rempublicam, magna præmia conjurationis docere. Ubi satis explorata sunt, quæ voluit; in unum omnîs convocat, quibus maxuma necessitudo, et plurimum audaciæ. Eò convenêre senatorii ordinis P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. et Servius Sulla, Ser-

*Figulus being Consuls, at first he addressed each apart: encouraged some, tried others: informed them of his strength, of the government's being unprovided,* and *the great advantages of the conspiracy. When the things were sufficiently searched into, which he designed: he summons all to one meeting, who were under the greatest difficulties, and had most courage. Thither assembled, of the senatorian order, P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longinus, C. Cethegus, P. Sulla,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

Thus January 1st was called *kalendæ Januarii*, or, using the month's name adjectively, *kalendæ Januariæ*. The last of December was called *pridie kalendas*, or *kalendarum, Januarii*, or adjectively, *pridie kalendas Januarias*. December the 30th was *tertio kalendas Januarii* or *Januarias*. December 29th was *quarto kalendas Januarias*, and so backward to December 14th, which was *decimo nono kalendas Januarias*. The 13th was *idus Decembris*, the 12th was *pridie idus* or *iduum Decembris*, the 11th was *tertio idus Decembris;* and so on to the 5th, which was *nonæ Decembris*. The 4th was *pridie nonas* or *nonarum Decembris*, the 3d was *tertio nonas* or *nonarum Decembris*, the 2d was *quarto nonas Decembris*, and the 1st was *kalendæ Decembris*. The last of November was *pridie kalendas Decembris* or *Decembrias*, &c. Here observe, that the names of all the months are used either substantively or adjectively, except *Aprilis*, which is used substantively only.

In *leap year*, which is every fourth year, February hath 29 days, and both the 24th and 25th are called the *sixth of the Kalends of March:* and hence this year was called *bissextilis*.

The following verses show the number of days in each month, and contain a summary of what has been said. The table represents the manner of computation: in which observe, that the numbers refer to the words below them.

Junius, Aprilis, Septem*que*, Novem*que*, *tricenos*,
*Unum plus reliqui;* Februus *tenet octo viginti;*
*At si bissextus fuerit, superadditur unus.*
*Tu primum mensis lucem dic esse kalendas.*
*Sex* Maius *nonas*, October, Julius, *et* Mars,
*Quatuor at reliqui; dabit idus quilibet octo.*
*Omnes post idus luces dic esse kalendas,*
*Nomen sortiri debent a mense sequenti.*

vii filii, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L. Bestia, Q. Cu- *and Servius Sulla, the sons of Servius, L. Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Læca, L.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

A TABLE of the KALENDS, NONES, and IDES.

| Days of the month. | April, June, Sept. Nov. | Jan. August, December. | March, May, July, October. | February. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Kalendæ. | Kalendæ. | Kalendæ. | Kalendæ. |
| 2 | IV. | IV. | VI. | IV. |
| 3 | III. | III. | V. | III. |
| 4 | Prid. Non. | Prid. Non. | IV. | Prid. No. |
| 5 | Nonæ. | Nonæ. | III. | Nonæ. |
| 6 | VIII. | VIII. | Prid. Non. | VIII. |
| 7 | VII. | VII. | Nonæ. | VII. |
| 8 | VI. | VI. | VIII. | VI. |
| 9 | V. | V. | VII. | V. |
| 10 | IV. | IV. | VI. | IV. |
| 11 | III. | III. | V. | III. |
| 12 | Prid. Id. | Prid. Id. | IV. | Prid. Id. |
| 13 | Idus. | Idus. | III. | Idus. |
| 14 | XVIII. | XIX. | Prid. Id. | XVI. |
| 15 | XVII. | XVIII. | Idus. | XV. |
| 16 | XVI. | XVII. | XVII. | XIV. |
| 17 | XV. | XVI. | XVI. | XIII. |
| 18 | XIV. | XV. | XV. | XII. |
| 19 | XIII. | XIV. | XIV. | XI. |
| 20 | XII. | XIII. | XIII. | X. |
| 21 | XI. | XII. | XII. | IX. |
| 22 | X. | XI. | XI. | VIII. |
| 23 | IX. | X. | X. | VII. |
| 24 | VIII. | IX. | IX. | VI. |
| 25 | VII. | VIII. | VIII. | V. |
| 26 | VI. | VII. | VII. | IV. |
| 27 | V. | VI. | VI. | III. |
| 28 | IV. | V. | V. | Prid. Kal. |
| 29 | III. | IV. | IV. | Martii. |
| 30 | Prid. Kal. | III. | III. | |
| 31 | Mens. seq. | Prid. Kal. Mens. seq. | Prid. Kal. Mens. seq. | |

Romulus began his months always upon the first day of the new moon, and on this day one of the inferior priests used to assemble the people in the Capitol, and *call* over as many days as there were between

rius: preterea, ex equestri ordine, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: ad hoc, multi ex coloniis et municipiis, domi nobiles. Erant præterea complures paullò occultius consilii hujusce parti-

*Bestia, Q. Curius: moreover, of the equestrian order, M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Startilius, P. Gabinius Capito, C. Cornelius: besides, many out of the colonies and free towns, men of figure in their own country. There were likewise a good many noblemen, a little more*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

that and the *nones:* and so from the old verb *calo,* derived from the Greek καλῶ, *to call,* the first day of the month had the name of *kalendæ.* But this custom continued only till the year of Rome 450, when Cn. Flavius, the *curule ædile,* ordered the *fasti* or *kalendar* to be fixed up in public places, that every body might know the times and returns of the festivals.

The *nonæ* were so called, because, reckoning inclusively, there are nine days from them to the *ides.*

The *ides* fell near about the middle of the month; and the word is derived from *iduare,* an obsolete verb, borrowed from the Etrurian language, which signifies *to divide.*

The Greeks had no *kalends* in their way of reckoning, and hence the Latin proverb *ad kalendas Græcas,* is used to signify a time that will never happen: particularly Augustus, when speaking of desperate debtors, used, in a facetious manner, to say, *ad kalendas Græcas soluturos,* as we learn from Sueton. Aug. cap. 87.

2. *Ex equestri ordine*] The *equites* or Roman *knights* were at first no other than the life-guards of Romulus, consisting of 300 young men, and called *celeres, a ministerii celeritate.* Tarquinius Priscus afterward increased their number to 600. But they had no authority, and made no figure in the state till *A. U.* 631, when C. Gracchus, tribune of the commons, found means to transfer the power of judging corrupt magistrates from the senate to the *equites.* This produced a remarkable change in the government. The Roman citizens came now to consist of three orders, *viz.* the *senatorian, equestrian,* and *plebeian,* and persons were admitted into the two former according to their fortunes. One that was worth 800 *sestertia* was capable of being chosen a senator; one that had 400 might be taken into the equestrian order. These *equites* or *knights* had a gold ring and a horse allowed them at the public charge.

3. *Ex coloniis et municipiis*] *Coloniæ* were towns, states, or communities, where the chief part of the inhabitants had been transplanted from Rome, who, mingling with the natives, obtained the chief authority, and managed the administration according to the Roman laws. *Municipia* (commonly rendered free towns, infranchised towns, hanse towns, or borough towns) were corporations or cities, who, for their good services, or upon other considerations, were allowed the use of their own laws, and at the same time honoured with the immunities and privileges of Roman citizens. See Kennet, b. iv. ch. 16.

cipes nobiles, quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur, quàm inopia, aut alia necessitudo. Ceterùm juventus pleraque, sed maxumé nobilium, Catilinæ inceptis favebat, quibus in otio vel magnificè, vel mollitèr vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quàm pacem, malebant. Fuêre item eâ tempestate, qui crederent M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum ejus consilii fuisse; quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum exercitum ductabat, cujusvis opes voluisse contra illius potentiam crescere; simul confisum, si conjuratio valuisset, facilè apud illos principem se fore.

XVIII. Sed anteà item, conjuravêre pauci contra rempublicam, in quibus Catilina, de quà quàm verissumè potero dicam. L. Tullo, M. Lepido Consulibus, P. Autronius et P. Sulla, designati Consules, legibus ambitûs inter-

*covertly associates in this plot, whom the hopes of power prompted more than want, or any other necessity. Moreover, most of the youth, but especially those of quality, favoured Catiline's enterprise,* they *who had it in their power to live in quiet, either splendidly or delicately, preferred uncertainties to certainties, war to peace. There were too, at that time, who believed that M. Licinius Crassus was not ignorant of the design; because Cn. Pompey,* a man *odious to him, had the command of a great army,* and *he would have been pleased that any one's interest should be increased in opposition to his power: withal trusting, if the conspiracy succeeded, that he might easily be chief amongst them.*

XVIII. *But likewise before this, a few had entered into a confederacy against the state, among whom Catiline, of which I shall give an account with as much truth as I can. When L. Tullus,* and *M. Lepidus were Consuls, P. Autronius and P. Sulla, Consuls elect, being tried*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XVIII. 1. *De quâ*] sciz. *conjuratione* referring to the verb *conjuravêre.*

2. *Designati Consules*] The Consuls were chosen about the end of July or beginning of August, but did not enter on their office till the first of January following; during which time they were called *Consules designati,* and in point of honour had the precedence of all the senators. *N. B.* These words have been omitted in Cortius's edition through inadvertency, as appears from his notes; and therefore I have restored them.

3. *Legibus ambitûs*] *Ambire* is to go about and caress the people for their votes; and *crimen ambitûs* was when any one made use of bribes,

rogati pœnas dederant. Pòst paulló Catilina, pecuniarum repetundarum reus, prohibitus erat consulatum petere; quód intra legitumos dies profiteri, nequiverit. Erat eodem tempore Cn. Piso, adolescens nobilis, summæ audaciæ, egens, factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rempublicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. Cum hoc Catilina et Autronius, consilio communicato, parabant, in Capitolio, Calendis Januariis, L. Cottam et L. Torquatum Consules interficere; ipsi, fascibus correptis, Pisonem cum exercitu ad obtinendas duas Hispanias mittere. Eâ re cognitâ, rursus in Nonas Februarias consilium cædis stranstulerant. Jam tum non Consulibus modó, sed plerisque Senatoribus, perniciem machinabantur. Quòd nî Catilina maturâsset pro curiâ signum sociis dare; eo die, post

*by the laws against bribery in suing for offices, had undergone the penalties. A little after this Catiline, being accused of extortion in the provinces, was not allowed to stand candidate for the consulate; because he could not enter his name within the days prescribed by law. There was at the same time one Cn. Piso, a young nobleman, of great boldness, needy* and *factious, whom poverty and vicious morals excited to disturb the government. With him Catiline and Autronius entering into a cabal, came to a resolution to assassinate in the Capitol, upon the first of January, L. Cotta and L. Torquatus the Consuls;* and *they, seizing the fasces, were to send Piso with an army to take possession of the two Spains. The matter being discovered, they again put off the assassination plot till the nones of February. At which time they intended a violent death, not only for the Consuls, but for most of the Senators. And if Catiline had not been over hasty to give*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

or other base and corrupt methods for this end; against which many severe laws were made, called *leges ambitûs*, or *leges de ambitu*.

4. *Pecuniarum repetundarum*] Extortion or oppression committed in the provinces by the provincial magistrates, was called *crimen pecuniarum repetundarum;* as being a case wherein repetition and restitution was allowed by the senate to the people or party so injured.

5. *Intra legitumos dies*] Thirty days before the day of election.

6. *In Capitolio Kalendis*] This being the day the Consuls entered upon their office, they went, attended by their friends, in procession to the Capitol, to perform their devotion to the gods, and implore their favor.

7. *Duas Hispanias*] The *Citerior* and *Ulterior;* or *Terraconensis* and *Bætica*.

conditam urbem Romanam, pessumum facinus patratum foret. Quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant; ea res consilium diremit.

*the signal to the accomplices before the senate-house; that day an outrage had been committed, the most execrable* that ever happened *since the building of the city Rome.* But *because no great number of the conspirators had yet got together, that circumstance broke their measures.*

XIX. Postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam Quæstor pro Prætore missus est, adnitente Crasso; quòd eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cognoverat. Neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus dederat: quippe fœdum hominem a republicâ procul esse volebat: simul, quia boni quamplures præsidium in eo putabant: et jam tum potentia Cn. Pompeii formidolosa erat. Sed is Piso, in provinciam ab e-

XIX. *Afterwards Piso was sent Quæstor with the authority of Prætor into hither Spain, Crassus making interest for him: because he knew him* to be *an implacable enemy to Cn. Pompey. Nor yet did the senate unwillingly bestow the province: because they inclined* such *a scandalous fellow should be at a distance from the seat of government: also because a great many worthy men placed a security in him: for even, by this time, the power of Cn. Pompey was formidable. But this Piso, as*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XIX. 1. *Quæstor*] The Quæstor was a kind of Lord Treasurer, who attended the army, had the charge of the public money, and of the plunder that was not given to the soldiers. This was the first and lowest office in the commonwealth; persons were admitted to it about the age of twenty-five years.

2. *Pro Prætore*] The Prætors at Rome were superintendents of the courts of justice· of whom there were two; the one applied himself wholly to the distribution of justice among the citizens, and had the name of *Prætor urbanus;* the other appointed judges in all matters relating to foreigners, and was called *Prætor peregrinus.* The provincial Prætors (and most of the provinces, except the two allotted for the Consuls, were governed by Prætors) were not only supreme judges in all matters within their own provinces, but had, when occasion required, the command of armies; and were in all respects invested with the same authority in their own provinces and armies, as the Consuls were in theirs. A person sent to officiate in lieu of the Consul or Prætor, was called Proconsul or Proprætor; or writing separately, he was said to be *missus pro Consule* or *pro Prætore.*

3. *In provinciam*] must be explained here *intra provinciam,* or *in provinciâ:* for we are assured from other authors, that Piso was killed

quitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter faciens, occisus est. Sunt qui ita dicunt, imperia ejus injusta, superba, crudelia, barbaros nequivisse pati: alii autem, equites illos, Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes, voluntate ejus Pisonem adgressos: numquam Hispanos præterea tale facinus fecisse, sed imperia sæva multa anteà perpessos. Nos eam rem in medio relinquemus. De superiori conjuratione satis dictum.

XX. Catilina, ubi eos, quos paullò antè memoravi, convenisse videt; tametsi cum singulis multa sæpe egerat; tamen in rem fore credens universos adpellare et cohortari, in abditam partem ædium sece-

*he was upon a journey, was assassinated in the province by the Spanish horse, whom he had in his army. There are who say, that the barbarians could not endure his unreasonable, haughty, cruel orders: but others* say *these horse, being old and trusty clients of Cn. Pompey, did attack Piso at his desire: that the Spaniards had never committed such a fact in time past, but had borne with many severe orders before now. We shall leave the matter undetermined. There is enough said of the first conspiracy.*

XX. *Catiline, when he sees those assembled, whom I mentioned a little before; though he had often dealt much with each of them separately; yet believing it would be for his interest to bespeak and encourage all of them together, retires into a private*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

in Spain, and not upon the road thither. This appears too from Sallust himself, cap. xxi. where Catiline tells the conspirators, *esse in Hispaniâ Pisonem;* which he could not have said, had he been murdered by the way. Nor need the construction surprise us, for not only Sallust, but several other authors, especially the ancients, make frequently the preposition *in* govern the *accusative* or *ablative* promiscuously, without regard to grammatical motion and rest. Cap. xi. *Exercitum, quem* in Asiam *ductaverat.* Jug. cap. cxii. *Cum talem virum* in postestatem *haberet.* Plaut. Cas. act ii. sc. iii. ver. 26. *Ubi* in lustra *jacuisti.* Terent. Eunuch. act ii. sc. ii. ver. 29. In *tantum* honorem *esse.* Quinctil. VI. cap. ii. p. 523. *Neque enim sunt motus* in *nostram* potestatem.

4. *Cn. Pompeii veteres fidosque clientes*] This is a pure hexameter. It is not probable that Sallust calls these Spaniards here *clientes Pompeii* in the common sense of the word, because Pompey was their patron. The meaning rather is, that Pompey had attached them to his interest by special favours. And such Cæsar, 1 Civ. cap. lxxv. calls *beneficiarii.* See cap. xxxi. note 6.

5. *In medio relinquemus*] Nec affirmabimus, nec negabimus, ita ut suum cuique liberum sit judicium.

dit: atque ibi, omnibus arbitris procùl amotis, orationem hujuscemodi habuit.

'Nî virtus fidesque vestra spectata mihi forent, nequidquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna, dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent: neque ego per ignaviam, aut vana ingenia, incerta pro certis captarem. Sed quia multis et magnis tempestatibus vos cognovi fortes fidosque mihi; eò animus ausus maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus incipere: simul quia vobis, eadem mihi, bona malaque intellexi: nam idem velle atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. Sed ego, quæ mente agitavi, omnes jam antea diversi audîstis. Cterùm mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cùm considero, quæ conditio vitæ futura sit, nisi nosmet ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. Nam postquam respublica in paucorum jus atque ditionem concessit; semper illis reges, tetrarchæ vectigales esse: populi, nationes stipendia pendere: cteri omnes, strenui, boni, no-

*part of the house: and there, all witnesses being removed at a distance, he made a speech to this purpose.*

*'Unless your courage and fidelity were known to me, this lucky opportunity had fallen out in vain; vast hopes* and *dominion had been in our hands to no purpose: nor would I grasp at uncertainties in place of things certain, by the help of men of unactive and fickle tempers. But because I have found you valiant and faithful to me upon many and important occasions: therefore my mind has dared to set on foot a very great and very glorious enterprize: and also, because I understood that the things that were good and bad for you, were the same to me: for to like and dislike the same thing, that above all is strong friendship. But all of you before now have heard separately, what I have projected in my mind. Moreover my resolution is more animated from day to day, when I consider, what our state of life will be, unless we restore ourselves to liberty. For since the government came under the power and management of a few; kings, tetrarchs are tributary to them: states* and *nations pay them taxes: all the rest of us, brave men, worthy men, nobles*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XX. 1. *Populi nationes*] *Natio* denotes a whole country or province; *populus*, a city or state regulated by the same laws; so that *natio* is a word of a more extensive signification, and may include several *populi*, as *natio Teutonum* comprehends the *populi* called *Allemanni, Bavari, et Saxones.*

biles atque ignobiles, vulgus fuimus, sine gratiâ, sine auctoritate, his obnoxii, quibus, si respublica valeret, formidini essemus. Itaque omnis gratia, potentia, honos, divitiæ apud illos sunt, aut ubi illi volunt: repulsas nobis reliquere, pericula, judicia, egestatem. Quæ quousque tandem patiemini, fortissumi viri? Nonne emori per virtutem præstat, quàm vitam miseram atque inhonestam, ubi alienæ superbiæ ludibrio fueris, per dedecus amittere? Verùm enim verò prô deûm atque hominum fidem! victoria nobis in manu. viget ætas, animus valet: contrà illis, annis atque divitiis, omnia consenuerunt. tantummodò incepto opus est cætera res expediet. Etenim quis mortalium, cui virile ingenium, tolerare potest, illis divitias supérare, quas profundant in extruendo mari, et montibus coæquandis, nobis rem familiarem etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas, aut ampliùs, domos continuare; nobis larem familiarem nusquam ullum esse? Cùm tabulas, signa, toreumata emunt; nova diruunt, alia ædificant;

*and commoners, have been* treated as *mob, without interest, without authority, in a slavish subjection to those, to whom, if the administration were in its proper state, we should be a terror. Wherefore all interest, power, honour, riches, are with them, or where they please: to us they have left repulses, dangers, impeachments*, and *poverty. Which* indignities *how long, pray, will you, the bravest of men, tamely suffer? Is it not better to die by bravery, than by disgrace, to lose a miserable* and *inglorious life, after you have been the sport of other men's insolence? But surely, by the faith of gods and men! we have the victory in our hands. our age is fresh, our minds are vigorous: on the other hand, all things are decayed to them, by reason of their years and riches. there is a need only of a beginning: the undertaking*, once set on foot, *will itself execute* all *the rest. For what mortal, that has the spirit of a man, can endure, that they should have an excess of wealth to squander away in building up the sea, and in levelling mountains; and that a private estate is wanting to us even for necessaries? that they should erect lodgings in pairs or more; that we should have a private house of our own no where? though they purchase*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Domos continuare*] est domos domibus adstruere, *to add house to house.*

postremò, omnibus modis pecuniam trahunt, vexant; tamen summâ lubidine divitias vincere nequeunt. At nobis domi inopia, foris æs alienum: mala res, spes multò asperior. denique, quid reliqui habemus, præter miseram animam? Quin igitur expergiscimini? En illa, illa, quam sæpe optâstis, libertas, præterea divitiæ, decus, gloria in oculis sita sunt! Fortuna omnia victoribus præmia posuit. Res, tempus, pericula, egestas, belli spolia magnifica, magis quàm oratio, hortentur. Vel imperatore, vel milite me utimini. neque animus, neque corpus a vobis aberit. Hæc ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum Consul agam: nisi fortè animus fallit, et vos servire, quàm imperare parati estis.'

*pictures, statues,* and *vessels of fine workmanship; pull down new* fabrics, *build others: finally, by all methods, raise* and *consume their money; yet with the highest extravagance they are not able to get the better of their wealth. But we have poverty at home, debts abroad: our condition bad, our expectations much more desperate; to conclude, what have we left, except a wretched life? Why then don't you rouse? Lo! that* liberty, *that* glorious *liberty, which you have often wished for, moreover riches, honour, glory, are placed full in your view! Fortune hath proposed all rewards to the conquerors. May the case, the opportunity, dangers, want,* and *the noble spoils of war, excite you more than my speech. Use me either as your leader or fellow soldier. neither my heart or hand shall be wanting to you. I in quality of Consul shall execute these things with you, as I hope: unless perhaps my mind deceives me, and you be disposed rather to be slaves, than to command.'*

XXI. Postquam accepêre ea homines, quibus mala abundè omnia erant, sed neque res, neque spes bona ulla, tamen etsi illis quieta movere, magna merces videbatur; tamen postula-

XXI. *After the men heard these things, who had all calamities in abundance, but neither fortunes, nor any good expectation, though to disturb the public tranquillity, appeared to them a mighty gratification: yet*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Pecuniam trahunt, vexant*] A moribus belli tracta translatio, quam elegantèr exsequitur, ubi mox etiam *vincere* adjicit. Erit igitur, *pecuniam trahere* idem, quod modis indignis *distrahere;* et *vexare* idem quod supra, cap. xiv. *lacerare,* ita ut summam lubidinem et profundendi arbitrium designet. Idem genus elegantiæ est, quando Seneca, *agitare pecuniam;* Statius, *strangulare opes;* Martialis, *flagellare* dixit.

re plerique, uti proponeret, quæ conditio belli foret: quæ præmia armis peterent: quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. Tum Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem locupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia omnia quæ bellum atque lubido victorum fert. Præterea esse in Hispaniâ citeriore Pisonem, in Mauritaniâ cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consilii sui participes: petere consulatum C. Antonium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem et familiarem, et omnibus necessitudinibus circumventum: eò Consulem initium agendi facturum. Ad hoc maledictis increpat omnîs bonûs: suorum unumquemque nominans laudare; admonebat alium egestatis, alium cupiditatis suæ, complures periculi aut ignominiæ, multos victoriæ Sullanæ, quibus ea prædæ fuerat.

*most of them desired, that he would declare what were to be the terms of war: what rewards they might propose by their arms; what help or hope they might reckon upon, and where. Upon that Catiline promised remission of debts, a proscription of the rich, posts in the magistracy: places in the priesthood, plunder,* and *all other advantages which war and the* uncontrouled *pleasure of conquerors comprehend. Moreover that there was Piso in hither Spain, P. Sittius Nucerinus in Mauritania with an army,* both *privy to his design: that C. Antonius stood candidate for the consulate, who he hoped would be colleague to himself, a man both his intimate friend, and embarrassed with all manner of difficulties: that therefore he,* when chosen *Consul, would begin the execution of his design. Moreover he inveighs against every man of integrity with virulent language:* and *naming each of his own party, he commended them; put one in mind of poverty, another*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXI. 1. *Quid ubique*] Sallust not only here, but in several other places, puts *ubique* for *et ubi.* Cap. xxvii. *Quem* ubique *opportunum credebat*, i. e. *quem* et ubi *illum opportunum credebat.* Jug. cap. lii. *Neque remittit, quid* ubique *hostis ageret explorare*, i. e. *quid* et ubi *ageret.*

2. *Tabulas novas*] Intellige tabulas *debiti* et *crediti*, quæ *novæ* dicuntur quando debitoribus æs alienum remittitur.

3. *Proscriptionem*] Proscription, first practised by Sulla, was a posting up persons' names in public places, with a promise of a certain reward to any who should murder them. And the estates and goods of the persons thus proscribed were confiscated and seized.

4. *Nucerinum*] His father was born in the town of Nuceria in Italy, and hence the son got this sirname.

Postquam omnium animos alacrîs videt; cohortatus, ut petitionem suam curæ haberent conventum dimisit.

*of his covetousness, several of danger or shame;* and *many of the victory of Sulla, who had gotten booty by it. After he perceives all their spirits elevated; advising them to take care of his suit* for the consulate, *he dismissed the meeting.*

XXII. Fuere eâ tempestate, qui dicerent, Catilinam oratione habitâ, cùm ad jusjurandum popularîs sceleris sui adigeret, humani corporis sanguinem, vino permixtum, in pateris circumtulisse; indè, cùm post exsecrationem omnes degustavissent, secuti solennibus sacris fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum, atque eò dictitare, fecisse, quò inter se fidi magis forent, alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. Nonnulli ficta hæc, multa præterea existumabant ab iis, qui Ciceronis invidiam, quæ postea orta est, leniri credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui pœnas dederant. Nobis ea res pro magnitudine parùm comperta est.

XXII. *There were at that time, who said, that Catiline, after making his speech, when he obliged the accomplices of his wicked enterprise to* take *an oath, handed about in bowls the blood of a human body, mingled with wine; and then, when after the oath all had tasted of it, as was wont to be done in solemn sacrifices, he laid open his design, and they gave out, that he did it for this end, that they might be the more trusty to one another, each of them being privy to one another of so foul a fact. Some thought this, and many things besides, were invented by those, who imagined the odium against Cicero, which afterward broke out, to be allayed by the heinousness of the villainy of those, who had suffered punishment. As to this affair I have not found sufficient evidence, considering the extraordinary nature of it.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXII. 1. *Vino permixtum*] The ancients called this kind of potion *assiratum.*

2. *Post exsecrationem*] *Exsecratio* was the pronouncing of a solemn oath, wherein they bound themselves under heavy imprecations and curses, to secrecy and mutual fidelity. Liv. X. cap. xxxviii. *Jurare cogebatur diro quodam carmine in* exsecrationem capitis familiæque et stirpis *composito, nisi îsset in prælium, quo imperatores duxissent, et si ipse ex acie fugisset, aut si quem fugientem vidisset, non extemplô occidisset.* Just. III. cap. iv. *Gravissimâ se* exsecratione *obstrinxerunt, non priùs, quàm Messenam expugnassent, reversuros.*

3. *Ciceronis invidiam*] See cap. iv. note 3.

XXIII. Sed in eâ conventione fuit Q. Curius, natus haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus co-opertus; quem Censores senatu probri gratiâ amoverant. Huic homini non minor vanitas, quàm audacia; neque reticere, quæ audierat, neque suamet ipse scelera occultare: prorsus neque dicere, ne-

XXIII. *Now in this meeting was Q. Curius, descended of no mean family,* but *immersed in debauchery and villainy; whom the Censors had expelled the senate, on account of his scandalous behaviour. In this man there was no less vanity than impudence; he could neither keep secret what he heard, nor conceal his own crimes: nor did he at all regard what he either said,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXIII. 1. *Flagitiis atque facinoribus*] Quod agit indomita cupiditas, ad corrumpendum animum et corpus suum, *flagitium* vocatur: quod autem agit, et alteri nocet, *facinus* dicitur. Augustin. de doctrin. Christ. cap x.

2. *Censores*] These were persons of the highest dignity in the state; their station was reckoned more honourable than even that of the Consuls themselves. Every fifth year they made a survey of the people, took an account of the estate and goods of every person, their name, their wife's name, the names, number, and age of their children, the number of their slaves; and this was called *censum agere*, or *censum habere*. The other part of their office was the censure of manners. They had power to punish an immorality in any person, of what rank soever. The word *notare*, not *punire*, was used to denote the exercise of their discipline; and the punishment or censure was called *ignominia*, not *pœna*. A *Senator* they could degrade and *expel the house*, which was done by striking his name out of the rolls. The *equites* they punished by *taking away the horse* allowed them at the public charge. The *commons* they might either *remove* from a higher tribe to a less honourable, or quite *disable* them to give their votes in the assemblies, by erasing their name out of the *album*, *i. e.* the register or roll belonging to their century. These several ways of punishing were shortly expressed in Latin thus: *Senatu ejicere, equum adimere, tribu movere, in Cæritum tabulas referre.* The *Cærites* were the people of *Cære*, a town in *Etruria*, who, for their good services to the Romans in the Gallic war, were honoured with the freedom of the city, but without the right of voting at the elections. And when any citizen was deprived of his right of voting by the Censors, his name, as it was struck out of the rolls of his century, so it was entered in the *tabulæ* or *register* of the *Cærites*. Hence too the proverb *Cærite cerâ digni.* Hor. I. epist. vi. ver. 62. of those that deserve to be censured and lose their privilege.

The Censors, after the quinquennial survey, made an expiatory sacrifice in a very solemn manner, in the name of all the people. It consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull, whence it got the name of *suove taurilia*. This ceremony they called *lustrum condere*, and hence *lustrum* came to signify the space of five years.

que facere quidquam pensi habebat. Erat ei cum Fulviâ, muliere nobili, stupri vetus consuetudo; cui cùm minùs gratus esset, quia inopiâ minùs largiri poterat, repentè glorians maria montesque polliceri cœpit; minari interdum ferro, nisi obnoxia foret: postremò ferociùs agitare, quàm solitus erat. At Fulvia, insolentiæ Curii caussâ cognitâ, tale periculum reipublicæ haùd occultum habuit; sed, sublato auctore, de Catilinæ conjuratione quæ quoque modo audierat, compluribus narravit. Ea res in primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. Namque anteà pleraque nobilitas invidiâ æstuabat, et quasi pollui consulatum credebant, si eum, quamvis egregius, homo novus adeptus foret. Sed ubi periculum advenit, invidia atque superbia pòst fuere.

*or did. He had an old amorous intrigue with* one *Fulvia, a lady of quality; to whom when he was less acceptable, because by reason of his poverty he was less able to make her presents, all on a sudden boasting he began to promise seas and mountains; sometimes threatened her with his sword, unless she would be obsequious: in short he behaved more huffily than he had been wont to do. But Fulvia, having discovered the ground of Curius's unusual carriage, made no secret of such a danger to the state; but concealing her author, told to several, what, and what way, she had heard of Catiline's conspiracy. That discovery in the first place kindled a zeal among the people for conferring the consulate on M. Tullius Cicero. For before this most of the nobility were frying for spite, and thought the consular dignity in a sort sullied, if an upstart, though an extraordinary person, should obtain it. But when danger approached, envy and pride were dropt.*

XXIV. Igitur comitiis habitis, Consules declarantur M. Tullius et C. Antonius: quod factum primò popularis conjurationis

XXIV. *Accordingly the courts of election being held, M. Tullius and C. Antonius were declared Consuls: which procedure first gave a shock to the accom-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Maria montesque polliceri*] a proverbial expression, denoting whatever is grand and in great abundance.

4. *Pleraque nobilitas*] See Jug. cap. liv. note 4.

5. *Homo novus*] Cujus parentes atque majores non fuere honoribus in republicâ cogniti. *A man who was the first in his family, that had bore some curule office;* that is, *had been,* Curule Ædile, Censor, Prætor, *or* Consul. See Curule, cap. xlvii. note 6.

concusserat. Neque tamen Catilinæ furor minuebatur; sed in dies plura agitare; arma per Italiam locis opportunis parare; pecuniam suâ, aut amicorum fide sumtam mutuam, Fæsulas ad Manlium quemdam portare, qui postea princeps fuit belli faciundi. Eâ tempestate plurimos cujusque generis homines adscivisse dicitur; mulieres etiam aliquot, quæ primò ingentîs sumtûs stupro corporis tolleraverant: pòst ubi ætas tantummodò quæstui, neque luxuriæ, modum fecerat, æs alienum grande conflaverant. per eas se Catilina se credebat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incendere, viros earum vel adjungere sibi, vel interficere.

*plices of the conspiracy. Nevertheless Catiline's fury was not abated; but every day he was hatching more contrivances; he provided arms in convenient places all over Italy; conveyed borrowed money, taken up on his own or his friends' credit, to Fæsulæ, to one Manlius, who afterward was the first that began the war. At this time he is said to have drawn in a great many men of every rank; also some women, who formerly had supported a vast extravagance by the prostitution of their body: afterwards, when age had put an end to their gain,* and *to it only, not to their luxury, they contracted huge debts. by their means Catiline expected to draw over the city slaves, to fire the town,* and *either engage their husbands to himself, or murder them.*

XXV. Sed in his erat Sempronia, quæ multa sæpe virilis audaciæ facinora commiserat. Hæc mulier genere atque formâ, præterea viro, liberis, satis fortunata: litteris Græcis atque Latinis docta: psallere, saltare elegantiùs, quam necesse est probæ:

XXV. *Now amongst these was Sempronia, who had often done many exploits of a manly hardiness. This woman was abundantly happy in her parentage and person, also in a husband* and *children; she was a skilled mistress in the learning of Greece and Italy: could play on musical instruments,* and *dance*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXIV. 1. *Amicorum fide*] His friends became surety for him. Sureties on such occasions were interrogated by the lender in a set form of words, to this purpose, *Centum à me Catilinæ tuâ fide credita esse jubes? Jubeo.*

2. *Fæsulas*] A town in Etruria.

XXV. 1. *Litteris Græcis*] *Litteræ* sunt historiæ, scripta, doctrinæ.

multa alia, quæ instrumenta luxuriæ. Sed ei cariora semper omnia, quàm decus atque pudicitia fuit: pecuniæ an famæ minûs parceret, haud facilè decerneres: lubido sic accensa, ut sæpius peteret viros, quàm peteretur. Sed ea sæpe antehac fidem prodiderat, creditum abjuraverat, cædis conscia fuerat, luxuriâ atque inopiâ præceps abierat. Verùm ingenium ejus haùd absurdum; posse versus facere, jocum movere, sermone uti vel modesto, vel molli, vel procaci. prorsus multæ facetiæ multusque lepos inerat.

*more nicely than was needful for a virtuous matron:* and dexterous at *many other things, which minister to luxury. But every thing was always more precious to her, than honour or chastity: you could not easily have determined, whether she was less sparing of her money or her reputation; her lust was so furious, that she oftener made advances to the men, than she was sought to. But frequently before this she had broke promises, forsworn trusts, had been privy to murder,* and *by profusion and poverty, had been carried headlong* into wickedness. *But her parts were far from being mean; she could make verses, be facetious, use discourse either modest, or smutty, or wanton. in short, she had a great deal of jocose humour, and abundance of graceful wit.*

XXVI. His rebus comparatis, Catilina nihilò minùs in proxumum annum consulatum petebat; sperans, si designatus foret, facilè se ex voluntate Antonio usurum. Neque intereà quietus erat, sed omnibus modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. Neque illi tamen ad cavendum dolus, aut astutiæ deerant. Namque a principio consulatûs sui, multa pollicendo per Fulviam, effe-

XXVI. *Matters being thus prepared, Catiline notwithstanding set up for the consulate against the next year; hoping, if he should be chosen, that he would easily manage Antonius according to his mind. Nor in the mean time was he idle, but all manner of ways laid traps for Cicero. Nor yet was cunning or craft wanting on his part to avoid them. For from the beginning of his consulship, he had brought it about, through Fulvia's means, by making large*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Multa alia*] Understand *docta*, on which *psallere* and *saltare*, do al o, as to their construction, depend. See Jug. cap. vi. note 1.

3. *Vel molli, vel procaci*] Sermo *mollis* est voluptuarius, et cui insunt occultæ quædam illecebræ, quæ capiunt animum; at *procax* est liberior et impudens.

cerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paullò antè memoravi, consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet. Ad hoc, collegam suum Antonium pactione provinciæ perpulerat, ne contra rempublicam sentiret. circum se præsidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habebat. Postquam dies comitiorum venit, et Catilinæ neque petitio, neque insidiæ, quas Consulibus in campo fecerat, prosperè cessere; constituit bellum facere, et extrema omnia experiri: quoniam quæ occultè tentaverat, aspera fœdaque evenerant.

*promises, that Q. Curius, of whom I made mention a little before, discovered Catiline's measures to him. And further, he had prevailed upon his colleague Antonius, by the grant of a province, not to entertain thoughts against the government. about his own person he kept privately guards of friends and dependents. After the day of election came, and neither Catiline's suit* for the Consulate, *nor the plot which he had laid for the Consuls in the field of* Mars, *succeeded; he resolved to make war, and try all extremities: since what he had attempted privately, had happened to be galling and disgraceful to* him.

XXVII. Igitur C. Manlium Fæsulas, atque in eam partem Etruriæ, Septimium quemdam Camertem in agrum Picenum, C. Ju-

XXVII. *Accordingly he despatched C. Manlius to Fæsulæ, and that part of Etruria* next it, *one Septimius a Camertian to the territory of Picene, C. Julius*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXVI. 1. *Pactione provinciæ*] The senate always allotted two provinces for the new Consuls, which they commonly divided by lot betwixt them. The consular provinces this year were Macedonia and Gallia; and as Antonius was fond to have Macedonia, Cicero, to oblige him, and attach him firmly to his interest, generously gave him his choice, and took Gallia to himself.

*Quas Consulibus in campo fecerat*] As Sallust does not say *Consuli*, but *Consulibus*, it would seem the disappointment Catiline met with at the election had put him upon a desperate resolution of cutting off not only Cicero, but the consul-elect; who had carried their point, and were preferred before him. By *Campus* we are to understand *campus Martius*, the place where the *comitia* were commonly held.

XXVII. 1. *Camertem*] *Camers* a gentile or patrial noun, derived from *Camerinum*, a town situated upon the confines of Umbria and Picenum.

2. *In agrum*] *Ager*, commonly rendered *territory* or *district*, was a kind of small province or little county, denominated generally from the metropolis or chief town in it. We meet with numbers of them in old Italy. They may be compared to the *pagi* or *cantons* in Helvetia, and to the *civitates* or *states* in Gallia.

lium in Apuliam dimisit; præterea alium aliò, quem ubique opportunum credebat. Interea Romæ multa simul moliri; consuli insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna loca armatis hominibus obsidere: ipse cum telo esse, item alios jubere: hortari, uti semper intenti paratique essent: dies noctesque festinare, vigilare, neque insomniis neque labore fatigari. Postremò, ubi multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intempestâ nocte conjurationis principes convocat per M. Porcium Læcam: ibique multa de ignaviâ eorum questus, docet, 'se Manlium præmisisse ad eam multitudinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat; item alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli facerent; seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si priùs Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum obficere.'

*into Apulia; others likewise* he sent off, *one to one place, and another to another; whom and where he thought proper. In the mean time at Rome he attempted many projects at once; laid snares for the Consul, prepared to fire* the city, *secured proper places with armed men: he was* always provided *with a sword* about him, *and likewise ordered others* to be so too: *he desired, that they would be always looking out, and in readiness: he was in a hurry day and night, got little sleep, and yet not wearied out with watching or fatigue. Finally, when nothing succeeded with him, attempting many things, again in the dead of the night he convenes the ringleaders of the conspiracy by M. Porcius Læca: and there, after complaining much of their want of spirit, he informs them, 'that he had despatched Manlius to that party, which he had prepared to take up arms; also others to other proper places, who were to begin the war; and that he inclined to go to the army, if once he had taken off Cicero:* for *that he much obstructed his designs.'*

XXVIII. Igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus cæteris, C. Cornelius, eques Romanus, operam suam pollicitus, et cum eo L.

XXVIII. *Whereupon C. Cornelius, a Roman knight, the rest being dispirited and hesitating, having promised his assistance, and with him L. Vargunteius a*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Cum telo esse*] This is old Latin, being the very words of the XII. *Tables*, by which the wearing of swords or other weapons within the city was forbid. The expression occurs again cap. xlix.

*Dies noctesque*] Plus est quam *diu noctuque*, et notat continuationem.

Vargunteius Senator, constituêre eâ nocte paullò pòst cum armatis hominibus, sicuti salutatum introire ad Ciceronem, ac de improviso domi suæ imparatum confodere. Curius ubi intelligit, quantum periculi Consuli impendeat, properè per Fulviam dolum, qui parabatur, enunciat. Ita illi januâ prohibiti, tantum facinus frustrà susceperant. Intereà Manlius in Etruriâ plebem sollicitare, egestate simul, ac dolore injuriæ novarum rerum cupidam: quòd, Sullæ dominatione, agros bonaque omnia amiserat, prætereà latrones cujusque generis, quorum in eâ regione magna copia erat; nonnullos ex Sullanis colonis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerant.

*Senator, they agreed to go in to Cicero that same night a little afterwards with armed men, as it were to pay their respects, and unawares at his own house to stab him unprepared. Curius, when he understood how great danger threatened the Consul, instantly gives him notice by Fulvia of the plot that was laid. Thus they being refused admittance at the gate, engaged themselves to so great a villainy in vain. In the mean time Manlius in Etruria solicits the populace, fond of a revolution in the state, both by reason of their poverty, and from resentment of wrongs: because, under the tyranny of Sulla, they had lost their lands and all their effects: moreover* he engaged *the highwaymen of every kind, of whom there was great plenty in that country;* and *some of the soldiers that had been settled in the possession of lands by Sulla, to whom lewdness and luxury had left nothing of all their rich plunder.*

XXIX. Ea cùm Ciceroni nunciarentur; ancipiti malo permotus, quòd neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longiùs tueri poterat, neque exerci-

XXIX. *When these things were told Cicero; being much startled at the double danger, because he could neither any longer by private measures secure the city against the plot, nor had he*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXVIII. 1. *Eâ nocte paullò pòst*] The conspirators met in the dead of the night, and may be supposed to have spent two or three hours in conference; and therefore the time here pointed at must be early in the morning, which was the time when the Consuls and other great men had their *levèe* or *salutatio*.

2. *Latrones——nonnullos*] To both these words understand *sollicitare*.

XXIX. 1. *Ancipiti malo*] Quasi duplici, intra et extra urbem; intra, ab insidiis Catilinæ sociorumque; extra, ab exercitu Manlii.

tus Manlii quantus, aut quo consilio foret, satis compertum habebat, rem ad senatum refert, jam anteà volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, DARENT OPERAM CONSULES, NE QUID RESPUBLICA DETRIMENTI CAPERET. Eâ, potestas per senatum, more Romano, magistratui maxuma permittitur: exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coërcere omnibus modis socios atque civîs: domi militiæque imperium atque judicium summum habere; aliter, sine populi jussu, nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

*sufficient intelligence how numerous Manlius's army was, or what their design might be; he lays the matter before the senate, tossed before now by the talk of the common people. Whereupon the senate decreed, what generally in a desperate juncture is usual,* That the Consuls should do their endeavour that the public might not receive any harm. *By this, a most extensive power, according to the Roman constitution, is granted to the magistrate by the senate:* namely, *to raise an army, to levy war, to exercise all compulsive authority over allies and citizens: to have the supreme command and jurisdiction both at home and in the war; otherwise, without the people's commission, no Consul has power in these matters.*

XXX. Post paucos dies, L. Sænius, senator, in senatu litteras recitavit, quas Fæsulis adlatas sibi dicebat: in quibus scriptum erat, C. Manlium arma cepisse, cum magnâ multitudine, ante diem vi. Kalendas Novembris. Simul id, quod in tali re solet, alii portenta atque prodigia

XXX. *A few days after this, L. Sænius, a Senator, read a letter in the senate, which he said was brought him from Fæsulæ: in which was writ, that C. Manlius had taken up arms, with a vast number of people, upon the sixth day before the Kalends of November. At the same time, a thing that is usual in such a case, some brought news*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Volgi*] This is old orthography. In like manner, cap. lxi. *Volneribus* for *vulneribus*. Jug. cap. cxiii. *voltu* for *vultu*.

3. *Eâ potestas*] Intellige *formulâ, sententiâ, re,* vel quidvis, dummodo cum Gronovio *eâ*, sexto casu accipias. *Decretio*, si antiquis, in usu fuisset, facillimè adsumeretur.

XXX. *Ante diem* vi. *Kalendas*] Concisa ista et consuetudine confirmata locutio ita evolvenda est, ut *diem* vel *die* vi. *ante Kalendas* significet.

nunciabant, alii conventus fieri, arma portari, Capuæ atque in Apuliâ servile bellum moveri. Igitur, senatûs decreto, Q. Marcius Rex Fæsulas, Q. Metellus Creticus in Apuliam circumque loca missi: ii utrique ad urbem Imperatores erant; impediti, ne triumpharent, calumniâ paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Sed Prætores Q. Pompeius Rufus Capuam, Q. Metellus Celer in agrum Picenum; iisque permissum, "uti pro tempore atque periculo exercitum compararent." ad hoc, "si quis indicavisset de conjuratione, quæ contra rempublicam facta erat, præmium servo libertatem et sestertia

*of omens and prodigies, others of meetings being held, arms conveyed, that at Capua and in Apulia an insurrection of the slaves was on foot. Whereupon, by order of the senate, Q. Marcius Rex was sent to Fæsulæ, and Q. Metellus Creticus into Apulia, and the places thereabout: both these were Generals* waiting *nigh the city;* and *were hindered from obtaining a triumph, by the detraction of a few, whose manner it was to make sale of every thing honourable and dishonourable. But the Prætors* were sent, *Q. Pompeius Rufus to Capua,* and *Q. Metellus Celer into the territory of Picene, and to them* a commission *granted, "to raise an army suitable to the occasion and the danger," and further, "if any would make a discovery of the conspiracy, which was made a-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Ad urbem Imperatores* erant] i. e. *prope urbem;* for whenever a General demanded a triumph, he was obliged to resign the command of his army; he was not allowed to enter Rome, nor approach it but at a certain distance, till this honour had been granted or refused him by the senate.

3. *Sestertia*] *Sestertius* was the fourth part of a *denarius,* and was equal in value to two pounds and a half of brass; and hence in authors it is frequently denoted by LLS (id est, *duæ libræ et semi*), or, which is the same in a contracted form, by HS or IIS. In numbering by *sestertii,* the following rules are to be observed.

I. The *sestertium* (neut. gen.) contained a thousand *sestertii,* and is in value of our money about 7*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.*; so that the reward here offered, of *sestertia centum,* amounts to 781*l.* 5*s.* and *sestertia ducenta* to be 1562*l.* 10*s.* Sterling.

II. If a *numeral noun* be joined with any of these words, it denotes precisely as many as the numeral expresses. Thus *decem sestertii* is 10 *sestertii,* and *decem sestertia* is 10 *sestertia,* or 10,000 *sestertii;* and *decem sestertiûm* (for *sestertiorum*) denotes the same number.

III. If a *numeral adverb* be added, it raises the value 100 times. Thus *decies sestertiûm* signifies ten hundred *sestertia,* or, which is the same thing, ten hundred thousand *sestertii.*

centum; libero impunitatem ejus rei, et sestertia ducenta." item [decrevere] "uti gladiatoriæ familiæ Capuam et in cætera municipia distribuerentur, pro cujusque opibus: Romæ per totam urbem, vigiliæ haberentur, iisque minores magistratus præessent."

*gainst the government, a reward* was offered, *to a slave, his freedom, and* 100,000 *sesterces; to a free man, pardon of the crime, and* 200,000 *sesterces." they likewise [ordered], "that the families of the gladiators should be dispersed thro' Capua, and other franchised towns, according to their several abilities: that at Rome watches should be kept through the whole city, and that the inferior magistrates should have the charge of them."*

XXXI. Quibus rebus permota civitas, atque immutata urbis facies: ex summâ lætitiâ atque lasciviâ, quæ diuturna quies

XXXI. *By which things the city was put into a consternation, and the appearance of the town changed: after the greatest jollity and wantonness, which a*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Decrevere*] Such words or sentences, as Cortius, in clearing Sallust of the false readings, strongly suspected to be spurious, but could not with absolute certainty throw out, he has inclosed in crotchets or brackets thus [*decrevere*].

5. *Gladiatoriæ familiæ*] The gladiators were a set of wretches, being mostly condemned persons, malefactors, captives, untoward slaves, or other ruffians, who were trained up by a *lanista* or fencing-master, on purpose to furnish diversion to the people on public days, by engaging before them in mortal combats. Gladiators were first introduced by D. Junius Brutus at his father's funeral, about the year of Rome 489. And this he did in imitation of the ancient heathens, who imagined the ghosts of deceased persons were appeased and rendered propitious by human blood. But as the Roman people were much pleased with these bloody entertainments, they were not long confined to funeral solemnities, but soon became common on almost all public occasions. Every great man, to ingratiate himself with the people, would exhibit shows of gladiators, (*munera gladiatoria*). Julius Cæsar, in his ædileship, presented them with three hundred and twenty pair. Trajan the emperor exhibited no less than a thousand pair. See a further account in Kennet, b. v. chap. iv.

6. *Distribuerentur*] There were vast numbers of gladiators at this time in Rome. and it was thought prudent to have them separated and dispersed, lest getting together in a body they should join Catiline.

7. *Pro cujusque opibus*] Prout municipium quodque gladiatores capere, tenere, et custodire possent.

8. *Minores Magistratus*] The Consuls, Prætors, and Censors, were called *magistratus majores;* and all the rest were named *minores,* such as the Ediles, Quæstors, Tribunes, Triumvirs, &c.

pepererat, repentè omnîs tristitia invasit. festinare, trepidare; neque loco, nec homini cuiquam satis credere; neque bellum gerere, neque pacem habere: suo quisque metu pericula metiri. Ad hoc mulieres, quibus, reipublicæ magnitudine, belli timor insolitus, adflictare sese, manus supplices ad cœlum tendere; misereri parvos liberos; rogitare, omnia pavere; superbiâ atque deliciis omissis, sibi patriæque diffidere. At Catilinæ crudelis animus eadem illa movebat: tamen etsi præsidia parabantur, et ipse lege Plautiâ interrogatus ab L. Paullo. Postremò, dissimulandi caussâ atque sui expurgandi, sicuti jurgio lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. Tum M. Tullius Consul, sive præsentiam ejus timens, seu irâ commotus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem reipublicæ: quam postea scriptam edidit. Sed

*long quiet had produced, all on a sudden a dismal concern seized every one. they were in a bustle, in a confusion; they could securely trust neither any place, nor any person; neither had they war, nor had they peace: every one measured the danger by his own fears. Moreover the women, to whom, by reason of the grandeur of the state, the terror of war was an unusual thing, most dismally bemoaned their case, spread out their hands in prayer to heaven; bewailed their little children; were full of inquiry after news, afraid of every thing;* and *dropping their pride and pleasures, gave up themselves and their country for lost. But the cruel soul of Catiline pursued the very same designs: notwithstanding that measures were taken for defence* against him, *and he himself was impeached upon the Plautian Law by L. Paullus. At last, in order to cloak* his villainy, *and clear himself, as if he had been provoked by defamation, he came into the senate. Upon this M. Tullius the Con-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXXI. 1. *Rogitare*] Interrogare et sciscitari de conjuratione apud alios post alios.

2. *Lege Plautiâ*] The author P. Plautus, Tribune of the commons *A. U.* 675, against those that attempted any force against the state or senate, or used any violence toward the magistrates, or appeared armed in public. The punishment assigned to the person convicted was *aquæ et ignis interdictio.*

3. *In senatum venit*] Sed nemo eum appellavit, nemo salutavit, et subselliorum partem, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam senatores reliquerant. Cic. ii. Cat. cap. vi.

4. *Præsentiam ejus timens*] As not thinking himself absolutely secured against Catiline's plots, even when in the senate.

ubi ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimulanda omnia, demisso voltu, voce supplici postulare. "Patres conscripti ne quid de se temerè crederent: eâ familiâ ortum, ita ab adolescentiâ vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet: ne æstumarent, sibi patricio homini, cujus ipsius, atque majorum plurima beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perditâ republicâ opus esse, cùm eam servaret M. Tullius inquilinus civis ur-

*sul, whether dreading his presence, or transported with passion, made a flaming speech, and of mighty service to the state: which afterward he put in writing and published. But when he sat down, Catiline, as he was prepared to dissemble every thing, with a dejected look,* and *humble tone, begged,* "*that the Honourable Fathers would not believe any thing of him rashly: that he was descended of such a family,* and *had so led his life from his youth, that he had ground to expect all preferments: that they would not sup-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

5. *Patres conscripti*] Romulus, soon after the building of Rome, chose out of the graver and more elderly citizens, 100 persons, to assist him in the administration. These made up his senate, and were, by a solemn appellation, called PATRES, as Sallust informs us, cap. vi. But after an alliance was entered into with Tatius, and the Sabines came and settled in Rome, Romulus enlarged the senate by adding another hundred to it. And this last hundred, as being collected, and superadded to, or put in joint commission with the former, were properly called PATRES CONSCRIPTI. But the appellation came in a short time to be common, and was given to all the Senators without distinction; who, in the senate, were constantly addressed under this honourable title.

6. *Patricio homini*] Romulus divided his people, according to their honour and dignity, into Patricians and Plebeians. The Patricians, *i. e. patribus orti*, were persons of rank and quality, bore offices of state, assisted in the administration, and took care of religious rites. The Plebeians or commons were to plough the ground, feed cattle, and follow trades. Every Patrician took so many of the Plebeians under his protection, was their counsellor or adviser in difficult cases, their advocate in judgment, and on this account was called their *patron*, and they his *clients*. On the other hand, the clients paid a great deference to their patrons, waited upon, served, and assisted them, as they were required. On some pressing occasions they furnished them with money; but this was rarely practised; for it was thought dishonourable for a patron to take money of his client.

7. *Inquilinus civis*] One not born in Rome, but who came to it from the country. This Catiline says satirically, upbraiding Cicero with the place of his birth, which was Arpinum, a small and mean town in Italy. See Jug. cap. lxiii. note 1.

bis Romæ." Ad hoc maledicta alia cùm adderet; obstrepere omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. Tum ille furibundus: "Quoniam quidem circumventus," inquit, "ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruinâ restinguam."

*pose, that he a nobleman, whose own good services, and those of his ancestors to the people of Rome had been very many, was under any necessity of ruining the commonwealth* to make himself great, *when M. Tullius, an adventitious citizen of the town of Rome, took care to preserve it." And then as he was adding other opprobrious reflections; all bawled out against him, called him traitor and parricide. Upon which he, in a furious rage, said: "Since then thus beset, I am doomed to destruction by enemies, I shall extinguish the flame kindled against me, by demolition,* i. e. by the ruin of his adversaries."

XXXII. Dein se ex curiâ domum proripuit. ibi multa secum ipse volvens, quòd neque insidiæ Consuli procedebant, et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optumum factum credens, exercitum augere, ac, priusquàm legiones scriberentur, antecapere, quæ bello usui forent; nocte intempestâ cum paucis in Manliana

XXXII. *Then in great haste he flung out of the senate-house away home. there revolving many things with himself, since his plot against the Consul had not succeeded, and since he understood the city was secured against fire by the watches, thinking the best thing to be done was, to reinforce his army, and, before the legions were levied, to secure beforehand what might be of use for the war: he*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

8. *Præceps agor*] A figurative expression, taken probably from the punishment called *dejectio de Tarpeiâ rupe*, where the criminal was pushed headlong from a precipice.

9. *Ruinâ restinguam*] A metaphor taken from houses on fire, where, the flames being so violent that they cannot be extinguished in the ordinary way by water, the neighbouring houses are pulled down, in order to put a stop to the burning.

XXXII. 1. *Insidiæ Consuli procedebant*] We might here suppose *Consuli* governed by *factæ* understood. But there is no occasion for being so nice, for it is nothing strange to see a substantive noun governing a dative. Jug. cap. vii. *Qui tum* Romanis Imperator. Cap. lxxxv. Benefacta *mea* reipublicæ *procedunt*. Virg. *Erit ille* mihi *semper* Deus. Senec. Rebus *humanis* Præses. Cic. *Non* hominibus, *sed* virtutibus hostis.

2. *Optumum factum credens*] *i. e.* Credens exercitum augere, *&c.* esse optumum factum.

castra profectus est. Sed Cethego atque Lentulo, cæterisque quorum cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat, quibus rebus possent, opes factionis confirment, insidias Consuli maturent, cædem, incendia, aliaque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo numero ad Marcium Regem mittit, cum mandatis hujuscemodi.

*set forward with a few* attendants *in the dead of the night for Manlius's camp. But recommends to Cethegus and Lentulus, and others, whose pushing boldness he was acquainted with, by whatever means they could, to strengthen the interest of their party, to hasten on a plot against the Consul, to prepare for a massacre, burning, and other exploits of war: that he within a few days would come to the city with a great army. Whilst these things are doing at Rome, C. Manlius dispatches* some *of his number to Martius Rex, with instructions to this purpose.*

XXXIII. "Deos hominesque testamur, Imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam cepisse, neque quò periculum homini faceremus, sed uti corpora nostra ab injuriâ tuta forent; qui miseri, egentes, violentiâ atque crudelitate fœneratorum plerique patriæ, sed omnes famâ atque fortunis expertes sumus: neque cuiquam nostrûm licuit, more majorum, lege uti, neque, amisso patrimonio, liberum corpus habere: tanta

XXXIII. "*General, we call gods and men to witness, that we have taken up arms neither against our country, nor that we might occasion danger to* any *man, but that our own persons might be secured against ill usage; who being distressed* and *beggared by the oppression and inhumanity of usurers, are most of us bereft of our country, but all of credit and estates; nor was it allowed to any of us, according to the manner of our forefathers, to take the benefit of the law, nor, after our fortunes were lost, to enjoy the li-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Prope diem*] In vetustis divisim scribitur. *Prope diem* dixere pro *brevi, statim.*

XXXIII. 1. *Plerique patriæ, sed omnes famâ atque fortunis expertes sumus*] See Jug. cap. vi. note 1.

2. *Liberum corpus*] The laws of the XII Tables allowed creditors a very extensive power over even the persons of their debtors, so that they could imprison them, beat them, and every way use them as

sævitia fœneratorum atque Prætoris fuit. Sæpe majores vestrûm, miseriti plebis Romanæ, decretis suis inopiæ opitulati sunt. ac novissumè memoriâ nostrâ, propter magnitudinem æris alieni, volentibus omnibus bonis, argentum ære solutum est. Sæpe ipsa plebes, aut dominandi studio permota, aut superbiâ magistratuum, armata a patribus secessit. At nos non imperium neque divitias petimus; quarum rerum caussâ bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalîs sunt; sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus, nisi cum animâ simul, amittit. Te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris

*berty of our persons: such was the rigour of the usurers and the Prætor. Frequently your forefathers, taking pity on the commons of Rome, by their decrees have relieved their poverty: and very lately in our own times, because of the greatness of the debts, silver was paid with brass, every good man going frankly into it. Often the populace themselves, set on, either by a desire of rule, or the arrogance of their magistrates, taking arms have divided from the fathers. But we do not aim at power nor riches; for the sake of which things all wars and contentions among mankind are* raised; *but at liberty, which no brave man parts with, but together with his life. We adjure you and the senate, that you*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

slaves. These hardships had been several times and several ways mitigated; but they pretend here, that they had not enjoyed, or could not obtain the benefit of these mitigations.

3. *Fœneratorum*] These are a set of rich fellows at Rome, not unlike the pawnbrokers in London, who lent out their money on interest or usury.

4. *Argentum ære solutum*] Commentators are not agreed as to the precise import of these words. Some take *argentum* to be put in general for *debitum,* and *ære* for *ærarium:* and then the meaning would be, that the private debts of these poor people were ordered to be paid out of the public treasury. Some again take the words to import, that brass was made to pass in payment for silver, weight for weight. But others, with more probability, think that there is here an allusion to the two coins *as* and *sestertius;* and imagine, that the discount allowed by the government was such, that a creditor to whom a *sestertius* (which was a silver coin) was due, should be obliged to discharge his debtor upon receiving an *as,* which was a brass coin, and of far less value; and that the same proportion of discount was to be observed in greater sums. And Velleius Pat. ii. cap. xxiii. informs us, that Valerius Flaccus, who was Consul the year after the death of Marius, and about 23 years before this time, made a law, *quâ creditoribus quadrantem solvi jusserat; i. e.* the creditors were obliged to discharge their debtors upon receiving a fourth part of the principal.

civibus; legis præsidium, quod iniquitas Prætoris eripuit, restituatis; nevè eam necessitudinem imponatis, ut quæramus, quonam modo, ulti maxumè sanguinem nostrum, pereamus."

XXXIV. Ad hæc Q. Marcius: "Si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices proficiscantur; eâ mansuetudine atque misericordiâ senatum populumque Romanum semper fuisse, ut nemo umquam ab eo frustrà auxilium petiverit." At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, prætereà optumo cuique litteras mittit: "se falsis criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimicorum resistere nequiverit, fortunæ cedere, Massiliam in exilium proficisci: non quò sibi tanti sceleris conscius; sed uti respublica quieta foret; nevè ex suâ contentione seditio oriretur." Ab his

*shew a regard for distressed citizens; that you restore the protection of the law, which the injustice of the Prætor hath taken away: and not lay the necessity* upon us *of enquiring what way we may perish, best revenging our own blood."*

XXXIV. *To these things Q. Marcius* replied: "*If they had a mind to petition any thing of the senate, they should lay down their arms, repair in a submissive manner to Rome: that the senate and the Roman people had been always of that compassion and clemency that none ever desired help from them in vain." But Catiline in his journey sends letters to most of the consular gentlemen, and also to all persons of highest distinction,* signifying, "*That being intrapped by false accusations, since he was not able to stand against the faction of his enemies, he gave way to fortune,* and *was going for Marseilles into exile: not that he was conscious to himself of such a crime; but that the government might be at ease; and that an insurrection might not*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXXIV. 1. *Consularibus*] *Consulares, Prætorii, Ædilicii, Quæstorii,* &c. denote such persons as had formerly been Consuls, Prætors, &c.

2. *Massiliam*] An ancient and much celebrated city in Gallia Narbonensis, now called Marseilles, famous for its early and constant alliance with the Romans, for the liberal arts and sciences flourishing there, and for the gallant behaviour of the inhabitants in times of war. It was first built by a colony of the Phocensians, as related by Justin, xliii. cap. iii.

3. *Quò sibi tanti*] *Quò* etiamsi *eo* non addatur, tamen per se, et vi sexti casûs notat *propter quod,* i. e. *quia* æque ac *quòd,* eâ notione sæpissimè ponitur. Cic. vi. epist. iii. *Superioribus literis benevolentiâ magis adductus, quam* quo *res ita postularet, fui longior.*

longè diversas [litteras] Q. Catulus in senatu recitavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinæ redditas dicebat. earum exemplum infrà scriptum.

XXXV. ' L. Catilina Q. Catulo S. Egregia tua fides re cognita gratam in magnis periculis fiduciam commendationi meæ tribuit. Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare: satisfactionem ex nullâ conscientiâ de culpâ proponere decrevi: quam me Diusfidius veram licet cognoscas. Injuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quòd fructu laboris industriæque meæ privatus, statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum caussam, pro meâ consuetudine suscepi: non quin æs alienum meis nominibus

*spring out of his quarrel. But Q. Catulus, read in the senate [a letter] quite different from this, which he said was delivered him in Catiline's name, a copy whereof follows.*

XXXV. "*L. Catiline to Q. Catulus, greeting. Your singular fidelity known* to me *by experience, gives me an agreeable confidence in times of great danger, to recommend my affairs to you. For which reason I never intended to prepare a* formal *defence of the new measures I have taken:* only *I resolved as being under no consciousness of any fault, to offer an apology* for my conduct; *which upon my honour you will find to be just. Provoked by injuries and indignities, because robbed of the fruit of my labour and my industry, I did not obtain the place of honour* due to my merit, *I have undertaken, according to my manner, the pub-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXXV. 1. *L. Catilina Q. Catulo S.*] i. e. *L. Catilina Q. Catulo Salutem* dicit.

2. *Quamobrem defensionem in novo consilio*) Propterea quòd fides tua mihi satis cognita, me apud te non defendere, sed excusare tantùm debui. Præpositio *in* statum denotat; erit igitur quasi, cum novum consilium secutus sum.

3. *Ex nullâ conscientiâ de culpâ*] Propter conscientiam de nullâ culpâ, sive inde quod mihi nullius culpæ sim conscius. *Ex* pro *per* et *propter* ponitur.

4. *Dius-fidius*] *Dius* is the same as *Deus,* and *Dius-fidius* the same as *Deus fidei, the god of honour,* i. e. Hercules. The phrase imports, *Ita me Dius-fidius juvet.*

5. *Meis nominibus*] *Nominibus solvere* est propriè *ex nominibus* sive propterea solvere, quod nomen tuum et summam creditur in tabulis suis scripserit, et ipse in tuas retuleris, cui et quod debeas. Et *alienis nominibus solvere* est ea debita aliorum solvere, pro quibus fidem tuam interposuisti.

ex possessionibus solvere possem; cùm alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillæ suis filiæque copiis persolveret: sed quòd non dignos homines honore honestatos videbam, meque falsâ suspicione alienatum sentiebam. Hoc nomine satis honestas, pro meo casu, spes reliquæ dignitatis conservandæ sum secutus. Plura cum scribere vellem, nunciatum est, vim mihi parari. Nunc Orestillam commendo, tuæque fidei trado; eam ab injuriâ defendas, per liberos tuos rogatus. aveto.'

*lic cause of the miserable: not but I could have paid the debt* due *on my own account out of my possessions; whilst the generosity of Orestilla would have paid out of her own and her daughter's provisions* what was due *on the account of others: but because I saw worthless men honoured with preferment, and found myself set aside upon a groundless jealousy. On this 'score I have pursued means of preserving my remaining dignity, sufficiently honourable considering my circumstances. When I was designing to write more, word was brought, that I was going to be attacked. Now I recommend Orestilla, and commit her to your protection; beseeching by* the regard you have for *your own children, that you defend her from ill usage. adieu.'*

XXXVI. Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Flaminium Flammam in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem, antea sollicitatam, armis exornat cum fascibus atque aliis imperii insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit. Hæc ubi Romæ comperta; senatus 'Catilinam et Manlium hostes judicat; cæteræ multitudini diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude

XXXVI. *But he having tarried a few days with C. Flaminius Flamma in the Arretine territory, till he provided the neighbourhood, that had been formerly drawn over to* his cause, *with arms, marches for the camp to Manlius with the fasces and other ensigns of authority. When these things were known at Rome; the senate 'declared Catiline and Manlius rebels;* but *appointed a day for the rest of the party, before*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Vim mihi parari*] *Vim cui parare,* idem est ac *violenter aliquem aggredi velle.*

XXXVI. 1. *Agro Arretino*] The country about Arretinum, a town in Etruria.

2. *Sine fraude*] *Sine fraude* is used in two different senses. 1. Sometimes it signifies *without trick* or *dissimulation,* i. e. *sincerely* or *in good*

liceret ab armis discedere, prætèr rerum capitalium condemnatis." Præterea decernit, "uti Consules dilectum habeant; Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet; Cicero urbi præsidio sit." Eâ tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani multò maxumè miserabile visum: cui cùm, ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis paterent; domi otium atque divitiæ, quæ prima mortales putant, adfluerent; fuere tamen cives, qui seque remque publicam obstinatis animis perditum irent. Namque duobus senati decretis, ex tantâ multitudine, neque præmio inductus conjurationem patefecerat, neque ex castris Catilinæ quisquam omnium discesserat. tanta vis morbi, uti tabes, plerosque civium animos invaserat.

*which it was allowed to lay down their arms with impunity, except those convicted of capital crimes." Moreover they decreed, "that the Consuls should hold a muster; that Antonius should make all haste to pursue Catiline with an army;* and *that Cicero should protect the city." At that time the Roman state seemed to me to be in a most deplorable condition; to which when all* kingdoms *subdued by their arms were laid open, from the rising of the sun to his setting;* when *at home ease and wealth abounded, which mankind account the chiefest blessings; yet there were citizens, who with inflexible resolution went on to ruin both themselves and the commonwealth. For upon the two decrees of the senate, of so great a number, not one of them all tempted by the reward discovered the conspiracy, nor deserted Catiline's camp, such a violent distemper, like a plague, had seized the minds of most of the citizens.*

XXXVII. Neque solùm illis aliena mens erat, qui

XXXVII. *Nor were the minds disaffected of those only*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

*earnest.* Cæs. ii. Civ. cap. xxii. *Sese dedere* sine fraude *constituunt.* 2. Sometimes, as here, it signifies *without guilt, without danger, without loss, without hurt,* or *without punishment.* So Liv. xxvi. cap. xii. *Ut qui civis campanus ante certam diem transisset* sine fraude *esset.*

3. *Prætèr—condemnatis] Præter* is here put adverbially for *prætergquam*; and *condemnatis* is the *dative,* being governed by *liceret.*

4. *Dilectum habeant*] When a Consul or General, by order of the senate assembled the youth, and picked out such persons as they thought proper for the service, obliging them to enlist and take the military oath; this was called *dilectum habere,* and was only used in cases of necessity.

conscii conjurationis; sed omninò cuncta plebes, novarum rerum studio, Catilinæ incepta probabat. Id adeò more suo videbatur facere. Nam semper in civitate, quîs opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turbâ atque seditionibus sine curâ aluntur: quoniam egestas facilè habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea verò præceps ierat multis de caussis. Primùm omnium, qui ubique probro atque petulantiâ maxumè præstabant; item alii per dedecora patrimoniis amissis; postremò omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, ii Romam, sicuti in sentinam, confluxerant. Deinde, multi memores Sullanæ victoriæ, quòd ex gregariis militibus alios Senatores videbant, alios ita divites, uti regio victu atque cultu ætatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis forent, ex victoriâ talia sperabant. Præterea juventus, quæ in agris, manuum mercede,

*who were concerned in the conspiracy; but indeed all the populace, out of a fondness for a revolution in the administration, approved of Catiline's design. So much in this case did they seem to act according to their usual manner. For always in a state they who have no wealth, envy those in stations of honour, cry up the worthless; hate what is old, wish for things new;* and *out of a dislike of their own circumstances are fond that all be changed; in a time of public disorder and confusion they get a subsistence without pains: since poverty is easily kept without loss. But the populace of the city were indeed from many causes become extremely corrupt. First of all, they who every where were most noted for infamy and insolence; likewise others after losing their estates by debauchery; finally, all whom disgrace or villainy had chased from home, these had flocked to Rome, as to a common sewer. And further, many mindful of Sulla's success, because they saw some of the common soldiers* now *Senators, others so rich that they lived in princely plenty and pomp, every one hoped for such things to himself from a victory, if he were in arms. Besides, the*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXXVII. 1. *Bonis invident*] *Boni* is often used by the classic writers to signify the same persons as *divites* and *beati*, the *rich, wealthy,* and *prosperous:* and frequently too it is put for *potentes* or *optimates,* the *great men,* or *grandees of the state.*

2. *Præceps ierat*] Elegantèr denotat perditas eorum hominum cupiditates.

inopiam toleraverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita, urbanum otium ingrato labori prætulerant. eos atque alios omnes malum publicum alebat. Quò minùs mirandum, homines egentis, malis moribus, maxumâ spe, reipublicæ juxta ac sibi consuluisse. Prætereà, quorum victorià Sullæ parentes proscripti, bona erepta, jus libertatis imminutum erat, haud sanè alio animo belli eventum expectabant. Ad hoc, quicumque aliarum atque senati partium erant, conturbari rempublicam, quàm minùs valere ipsi malebant. Id adeò malum multos post annos in civitatem reverterat.

*youth, who had kept themselves from starving by the wages of their labour in the country, tempted by the private and public largesses, had preferred the city ease to their hard working. these and all* such *others the troubles of the state supported. Wherefore it is less to be wondered at, that men in want, of bad morals, of high expectations, should have consulted the interest of the public in the same manner they did their own. Moreover, they, whose parents upon Sulla's victory had been proscribed, their goods confiscated,* and *their privilege of freedom taken from them, looked upon the issue of a war, not, to be sure, with a different view. And further, whoever were of any other faction than the senate, chose rather the government should be involved in confusion, than have little sway themselves. So much had that mischief, after* having lain dormant for *many years, returned into the state.*

XXXVIII. Nam postquam Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso Consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta; homines adolescentes, [summam potestatem nacti,] quibus ætas animusque ferox, cœpère, senatum criminando, plebem exagitare; dein largiundo, atque pollicitando magis incendere; ita ipsi clari po-

XXXVIII. *For after the tribunician authority was restored in the Consulship of Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus; young gentlemen whose age and spirits were full of fire, [having got possession of that dignity,] began, by inveighing against the senate, to stir up the people; and then by largesses and promises inflamed them more; and so came to be in high vogue and great power*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Multos post annos*] Since the sedition of the Gracchi, about 69 years before this.

XXXVIII. *Tribunicia potestas*] See Jug. cap. xxvii. note 1.

tentesque fieri. Contra eos summâ ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas, senati specie, pro suâ magnitudine. Namque, uti paucis absolvam, per illa tempora quicumque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii, sicuti populi jura defenderent, pars quò senati auctoritas maxuma foret; bonum publicum simulantes, pro suâ quisque potentiâ certabant. neque modestia, neque modus contentionis erat; utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant.

*themselves. Against these most of the nobility strove with their utmost might to maintain their own grandeur under pretence of* supporting *the senate. For, that I may dispatch the matter in a few words, whoever disturbed the public in those times,* did it *under plausible pretexts; some, as though they would defend the rights of the people, some, that the authority of the senate might be* maintained as *the greatest, pretending the public good, they did stickle every one for their own power, nor had they any modesty or moderation in their quarrels: both sides made a cruel use of their success.*

XXXIX. Sed postquam Cn. Pompeius ad bellum maritimum atque Mithridaticum missus; plebis opes imminutæ, paucorum potentia crevit. Hi magistratus, provincias, aliaque omnia tenere: ipsi innoxii, florentes, sine metu ætatem agere, cæteros judiciis terrere, quò plebem in magistratu placidiùs tractarent.

XXXIX. *But after Cn. Pompey was sent to the maritime and Mithridatic war; the interest of the commons declined,* and *the power of a few increased. These ingrossed the public offices, the provinces, and all things else: they themselves out of the reach of hurt, in a flourishing condition, led a life without fear, overawed others with impeachments, to the end they might*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Pleraque nobilitas*] *Pleraque* is here in the singular number. See Jug. cap. liv. note 4.

XXXIX. *Quò plebem in magistratu placidiùs tractarent*] *Tractare plebem placidiùs,* signifies to manage the people in a softer or more pacific manner, so as not to incense them against the nobility. And the meaning of the whole sentence is, that as the few grandees, who had ingrossed the public management, looked upon the Tribunes of the commons as the only persons who formerly did, or now could thwart their designs, and give a check to their growing power by exasperating the people against them, so they took care to make their resentment fall heavy upon all the Tribunes, when out of office, who had exerted themselves that way, and upon all others too, who discovered a spirit of this nature; to the end that no person, upon

Sed ubi primùm dubiis rebus novandis spes oblata, vetus certamen animos eorum arrexit. Quòd si primo prœlio Catilina superior, aut æquâ manu discessisset; profectò magna clades atque calamitas rempublicam oppressisset; neque illis, qui victoriam adepti, diutiùs eâ uti licuisset; quin defessis et exsanguibus, qui plus posset, imperium atque libertatem extorqueret. Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. in his A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit. Isdem temporibus Romæ Lentulus, sicuti Catilina præceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortunâ novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se, aut per alios sollicitabat; neque solùm cives, sed cujusque modi genus hominum, quod modò [bello] usui foret.

*less spirit up the commons* against the nobility, *upon their being in office. But as soon as a view offered of new-modelling this unsettled state of affairs, the old quarrel roused their courage. And if in the first battle Catiline had come off conqueror, or on equal terms; doubtless much bloodshed and trouble had afflicted the commonwealth; nor had it been in the power of those who got the victory to enjoy it long; but* a third party, *who was more potent, would have wrested power and liberty from them when wearied out and quite spent. There were however several not concerned in the conspiracy, who at first went over to Catiline, amongst these* was *A. Fulvius, a senator's son, whom his father ordered to be put to death, having been fetched back when upon the road. At the same time Lentulus at Rome, as Catiline had ordered, endeavoured to gain, either by himself or others, whomever, by their manners or fortune, he supposed fit persons for a rebellion; and not only citizens, but any kind of men of whatever sort, that might but be of service [for the war].*

XL. Igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum re-

XL. *Accordingly he gives orders to one P. Umbrenus, to sound the deputies of the Allobroges:*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

his being made a Tribune of the commons, might dare, for the future, to make any attempts of this kind, or oppose their measures by spiriting up the people against them. See Jug. cap. xxvii. note 1.

XL. 1. *Allobrogum*] A people in Gallia, whose country was bounded by the Alps, the Rhone, the sea, and the lake Lemanus. They were at this

quirat; eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli: existumans publicè privatímque ære alieno oppressos, prætereà, quòd naturâ gens Gallica bellicosa esset, facilè eos ad tale consilium adduci posse. Umbrenus, quòd in Galliâ negotiatus, plerisque principibus notus erat, atque eos noverat: itaque sine morâ, ubi primùm legatos in foro conspexit, percunctatus pauca de statu civitatis, et quasi dolens ejus casum requirere cœpit, 'quem exitum tantis malis sperarent?' Postquam illos videt queri de avaritiâ magistratuum, accusare senatum, quòd in eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium, mortem exspectare: 'At ego,' inquit, 'vobis, si modò viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam quâ tanta ista mala effugiatis.' Hæc ubi dixit, Allobroges, in maxumam spem adducti, Umbrenum orare, uti sui misereretur: nihil tam asperum, neque

*and persuade them, if possible, to a confederacy in the war: supposing that they, being sadly incumbered both with public and private debts,* and *besides, because by nature the Gallic nation was prone to war, might easily be drawn over to such a design, Umbrenus, in regard he had trafficked in Gaul, was known to most of the leading men, and he knew them: wherefore without delay, as soon as he saw the deputies in the forum, after asking a few things concerning the state of their country, and as it were condoling its case, he begun to enquire, 'what issue they hoped for to so great grievances?' After he sees them complain of the covetousness of their magistrates, blame the senate, because there was no redress from it;* and *expect death as the remedy to their miseries: 'But I,' says he, 'will show you a way, by which you may escape these so great misfortunes, if you will only be men.' When he said this, the Allobroges, buoyed up to very big hopes, begged of Umbrenus, that he would take pity on them:* assured him *that there was nothing so harsh, nor so dif-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

time a province of the Roman empire, and governed by magistrates sent from Rome.

2. *Negotiatus*] Writers are not agreed about the nature of the employment of these *negotiatores* we meet with in the classics: the most probable opinion is, that they were a sort of chapmen, who took up their residence for a time in some of the provinces, in order to purchase, either for money or barter, such commodities as they expected the best sale for at Rome on their return.

3. *Si modò viri esse voltis*] Si fortitèr, ut viros decet, agere vultis.

tam difficile, quin cupidissumé facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem ære alieno liberaret. Ille eos in domum D. Bruti perducit; quòd foro propinqua, neque aliena consilii, propter Semproniam: nam tum Brutus ab Româ aberat. Prætereà Gabinium arcessit, quò major auctoritas sermoni inesset: eo præsente conjurationem aperit: nominat socios, prætereá multos cujùsque generis innoxios; quo legatis animus amplior esset: dein eos pollicitos operam suam dimittit.

*ficult, but they would do most gladly, provided that matter would relieve their state from debt. He carries them to the house of D. Brutus; because* it was *nigh the forum, and not unfriendly to the design, through means of Sempronia: for at that time Brutus was absent from Rome. Moreover, he sends for Gabinius, that his discourse might have the greater weight: in his presence he unfolds the conspiracy: names the accomplices, and also many innocent persons of every rank; that the deputies might have the greater courage: and then dismisses them after they had promised their concurrènce.*

XLI. Sed Allobroges diù in incerto habuere, quidnam consilii caperent. In altereâ parte erat æs alienum, studium belli, magna merces in spe victoriæ: at in alterâ, majores opes, tuta consilia, pro incertâ spe, certa præmia. Hæc illis volventibus, tandem vicit fortuna reipublicæ. Itaque Q. Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrocinio civitas plurimùm utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiunt. Cicero, per Sangam [consilio] cognito, legatis præcepit, studium conjurationis ve-

XLI. *But the Allobroges for a long time were in suspense, what course they should take. On the one side there was debt, an inclination to war,* and *great advantage in view of victory: but on the other, greater strength, safe measures, certain rewards, instead of uncertain hope. Whilst they pondered these things, at length the fortune of the commonwealth prevailed. Accordingly they disclose the whole matter, as they had learned it, to Q. Fabius Sanga, whose patronage their country very much used. Cicero, having got notice [of the matter] by Sanga, ordered the deputies strongly to pretend a*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLI. *Cujus patrocinio*] All the Roman colonies, provinces, and allies, had some of the great men of Rome for their patron: and they had liberty to choose whom they pleased. The patron was a kind of agent or doer, who appeared as advocate for his clients, and took care to support their interest when their cause came before the senate.

hementér simulent, cæteros adeant, bene polliceantur; dentque operam, uti eos quám maxumè manifestos habeant.

XLII. Isdem feré temporibus, in Galliâ citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apuliâ, motus erat. Namque illi, quos antea Catilina dimiserat, inconsultè, ac veluti per dementiam [cuncta simul] agere: nocturnis consiliis, armorum atque telorum portationibus, festinando, agitando omnia, plus timoris quám periculi effecerant. Ex eo numero complures Q. Metellus Celer Prætor, ex senati consulto, caussa cognitâ, in vincula conjecerat; item in ulteriore Galliâ C. Murena, qui ei provinciæ legatus præerat.

XLIII. At Romæ Lentulus, cum cæteris, qui principes conjurationis erant, paratis, ut videbantur, magnis copiis, constituerant, uti Catilina in agrum Fæsulanum cúm venisset, L. Bestia, tribunus plebis, concione habitâ, quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis, bellique

*great liking for the conspiracy, to get into the company of the rest, promise fair; and do their endeavour, to have them as much as possible laid open to a proof.*

XLII. *Much about the same time, there were commotions in hither and further Gaul, also in the country of Picene, Bruttium,* and *Apulia. For those, whom Catiline formerly had dispatched* thither, *acted inconsiderately, and like madmen [all things at once]: by their night-consultations, the carriage of arms and weapons, their hastening* and *hurrying every thing, they caused more of fright than danger. The Prætor Q. Metellus Celer clapt in chains a good many of that number, after trying their cause, according to a decree of the senate; as likewise* did *C. Murena in further Gaul, who, as deputy-governor, presided over that province.*

XLIII. *But at Rome Lentulus, with the rest, who were the ringleaders of the conspiracy, having provided, as appeared* to them, *considerable forces, had agreed, that, when Catiline should come into the country of Fæsulæ, L. Bestia, Tribune of the commons, calling an assembly of the people, should complain of the proceedings of Cicero, and*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLII. *Armorum atque telorum*] When these two words are joined in a sentence, as here, the former denotes defensive arms, such as the shield, the breast-plate, the helmet, *&c.*; the latter denotes offensive ones, such as swords, spears, darts, lances, javelins, and all missive weapons.

XLIII. 1. *Ut videbantur*] *i. e.* ut copiæ videbantur.

gravissumi invidiam optumo Consuli imponeret; eo signo, proxumâ nocte cætera multitudo conjurationis suum quisque negotium exsequerentur. Sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius, Gabinius, uti cum magnâ manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quò tumultu facilior aditus ad Consulem, cæteros, quibus insidiæ parabantur, fieret: Cethegus Ciceronis januam obsideret, eum vi adgrederetur, alius autem alium: sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars, parentes interficerent; simul, cæde et incendio perculsis omnibus, ad Catilinam erumperent. Inter hæc parata atque decreta, Cethegus semper querebatur de ignaviâ sociorum: illos, dubitando et dies prolatando, magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non consulto, in tali periculo opus esse: seque, si pauci adjuvarent, languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. Naturâ ferox, vehemens, manu promptus,

*lay the odium of this dangerous war upon the best of Consuls; upon that signal, next night the rest of the gang of conspirators were to execute every one their proper parts. Now these were said to be allotted in this manner; that Statilius* and *Gabinius with a considerable party were to fire at once twelve convenient places of the city, that in the confusion there might be easier access to the Consul,* and *the rest, against whom the plot was laid; that Cethegus should lie in wait at Cicero's gate, set upon him by force, and the rest upon others; but the sons of* some *families, of whom the greatest part* was *of the nobility, were to murder their fathers;* and *at once, whilst all were in a consternation with the massacre and burning, to sally out to Catiline. Amidst these preparations and resolves, Cethegus was always complaining of the backwardness of his associates: that they, by hesitating and putting off the time, marred great opportunities; that there was need of action, not of deliberation, in such a dangerous case: and that he, if a few would assist* him;—*though others were faint-hearted, would make an assault upon the senate-house.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Optumo Consuli*] It would appear by the elevated epithets given here and elsewhere to Cicero, that Sallust and he, before the writing of this history, had been reconciled: for formerly they were at great enmity.

3. *Sed ea divisa*] *Ea negotia,* quæ quisque exsequerentur.

maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

*By nature* he was *bold, impetuous, brisk in action,* and *thought very great advantage* lay *in dispatch.*

XLIV. Sed Allobroges, ex præcepto Ciceronis, per Gabinium cætoros conveniunt; ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio, item Cassio, postulant jusjurandum, quod signatum ad civìs perferant: alitèr haud facilé eos ad tantum negotium impelli posse. Cæteri nihil suspicantes dant: Cassius semet eò brevi venturum pollicetur, ac paulló ante legatos ex urbe proficiscitur. Lentulus [cum his] T. Volturcium quendam Crotonienseni mittit; uti Allobroges, priusquam domum pergerent, cum Catilinâ, datâ et acceptâ fide, societatem confirmarent. Ipse Volturcio litteras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infrà scriptum:

XLIV. *But the Allobroges, according to Cicero's direction, procure a meeting with the rest* of the conspirators *by means of Gabinius; they require an oath of Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, as also of Cassius, which* being written *they might carry under seal to their countrymen: otherwise they would not easily be persuaded to* engage in *such an affair. The rest suspecting nothing grant it: Cassius promises he would come to their country in a short time, and goes out of town a little before the deputies. Lentulus sends [with them] one T. Volturcius a Crotonian; that the Allobroges, before they went home might ratify the confederacy with Catiline, by giving and taking an oath. He gives a letter to Volturcius for Catiline, of which a copy is here subjoined.*

" Quis sim, ex eo, quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fac cogites, in quantâ calamitate sis, et memineris te virum; consideres, quid tuæ rationes postulent: auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis."

" *Who I am, you will learn from him, whom I have sent to you. See you reflect in how great danger you are, and remember you are a man; consider what your affairs require: seek assistance from all, even from the meanest.*"

Ad hoc, mandata verbis dat; " Cùm ab senatu hostis judicatus sit, quo consilio servitia repudiet? in urbe parata

*Moreover, he gives verbal instructions:* to ask Catiline, " *Upon what design he rejected the slaves, since he was declared*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLIV. *Crotoniensem*] A patrial noun, derived from Croto a town of the Bruttii, upon the Tarentine bay, now called Crottone.

esse, quæ jusserit: ne cunctetur ipse propiùs accedere."

*a rebel by the senate?"* and to tell him *"the things were prepared in town, which he had ordered: that he should not delay to advance nearer* to the city."

XLV. His rebus ita actis, constitutâ nocte quà proficiscerentur, Cicero, per legatos cuncta edoctus, L. Valerio Flacco et C. Pomtino Prætoribus imperat, uti in ponte Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus deprehendant; rem omnem aperit, cujus gratiâ mittebantur: cætera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant, permittit. Homines militares, sine tumultu præsidiis collocatis, sicuti præceptum erat, occultè pontem obsidunt. Postquam ad id loci legati cum Volturcio venêre, simul utrímque clamor exortus est; Galli, citò cognito consilio, sine morâ Prætoribus se tradunt. Volturcius primó, cohortatus cæteros, gladio se a multitudine defendit; dein, ubi a legatis desertus est, multa priús de salute suâ Pomtinum obtestatus, quód ei notus erat; postremò timidus, ac vitæ diffidens, veluti hostibus, sese Prætoribus dedit.

XLV. *These matters thus managed, the night being fixed on which they were to take journey, Cicero, having been informed of every thing by the deputies, orders the Prætors L. Valerius Flaccus and C. Pomtinus, to seize the retinue of the Allobroges by an ambuscade upon the Mulvian bridge: he unfolds the whole affair, on account whereof they were sent: as to other things, he allows them to manage as need should require. The men having been acquainted with military affairs, planting the ambush without any noise, as was ordered, privately beset the bridge. After the deputies with Volturcius were come to this place, and a shout was set up at once on both sides; the Gauls, quickly understanding the design, without delay surrender themselves to the Prætors. Volturcius at first encouraging the rest, defends himself with his sword against the party; afterward, when he was abandoned by the deputies, having first made many earnest requests to Pomtinus for his life, because he was acquainted with him: at last in a timorous manner, and in doubts of safety, he surrendered himself to the Prætors, as* a man surrenders himself *to his enemies.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLV. *Ponte Mulvio*] A bridge upon the Tiber, about two miles up the river from Rome, on the road leading to Etruria, now called *ponte Mollé.* Here the *via Flaminia* begins.

XLVI. Quibus rebus confectis, omnia properè per nuncios Consuli declarantur. At illum ingens cura atque lætitia simul occupavere. nam lætabatur, conjuratione patefactâ, civitatem periculis ereptam esse: porrò autem anxius erat, in maxumo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis, quid facto opus; pœnam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundæ reipublicæ credebat. Igitur, confirmato animo, vocari ad sese jubet Lentulum, Cethegum, Statilium, Gabinium, item Q. Cœparium quemdam Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad concitanda servitia proficisci parabat. Cæteri sine morâ veniunt: Cœparius, paullò antè domo egressus, cognito indicio, [ex urbe] profugerat. Consul Lentulum, quòd Prætor erat, ipse manu tenens perducit; reliquos cum custodibus in ædem concordiæ venire jubet. Eò senatum advocat, magnâque frequentiâ ejus ordinis, Volturcium cum legatis introducit: Flaccum Prætorem scrinium cum litteris, quas a le-

XLVI. *Which things being accomplished, instantly all are notified to the Consul by messengers. But a vast concern and joy seized him at once, for glad he was, that the city was rescued from danger, the conspiracy being discovered: but then he was full of disquieting doubts; what was proper to be done, citizens of so great note being catched in the most enormous crime; he thought the punishing of them* would be *a burdensome task for himself, their impunity ruinous to the public. Wherefore assuming courage, he orders to be summoned before him Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, likewise one Q. Cœparius of Terracina, who was preparing to go for Apulia to raise the slaves. The rest come without delay: Cœparius, having gone out of his house a little before, upon getting notice of the discovery, had fled* [*out of town*]. *The Consul, taking Lentulus by the hand, because he was Prætor, conducts him; he orders the rest to come with a guard into the temple of Concord. Thither he summons the senate, and, in a full meeting of that body, introduces Volturcius with the deputies: orders the Prætor Flaccus, to bring to the same place*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLVI. 1. *Perdundæ reipublicæ*] Cortius is of opinion these words are in the genitive rather than the dative, and that the construction is the same as that of *conservandæ libertati atque augendæ reipublicæ,* cap. vi.

2. *Terracinensem*] Terracina was a town in Latium, anciently called Anxur, and hence the patrial *Terracinensis.*

gatis acceperat, eódem adferre jubet.

XLVII. Volturcius interrogatus 'de itinere, de litteris, postremó quid, aut quâ de caussâ consilii habuisset?' primó fingere alia, dissimulare de conjuràtione; póst, ubi fide publicâ dicere jussus est, omnia, uti gesta erant, aperit: 'paucis anté diebus, a Gabinio et Cœpario socium adscitum, nihil ampliús scire quam legatos: tantummodó audire solitum ex Gabinio, P. Autronium, Servium Sullam, L. Vargunteium, multos prætereà in eâ conjuratione esse.' Eadem Galli fatentur: ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt, præter litteras, sermonibus, quos habere solitus: 'Ex libris Sibyllinis, regnum Romæ tribus Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea:

*the box with the letters, which he had got from the deputies.*

XLVII. *Volturcius being questioned 'about his journey, about the letters, and in short what design he had in view, or what his motive was?' at first pretends other things* than what was fact, *prevaricates concerning the conspiracy; afterward, when he was desired to tell* the truth *upon the public faith* of a pardon, *he made a discovery of all things, as they had been transacted: 'That a few days before, he had been taken in as an associate by Gabinius and Cæparius, that he knew no more than the deputies: only he used to hear of Gabinius, that P. Autronius, Servius Sulla, L. Vargunteius,* and *many besides, were in that combination.' The Gauls acknowledge the same things: and they convict Lentulus prevaricating, besides the letters, by expressions which he hàd been wont to use: 'That, according to the books of the Sibyls, the sovereignty*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLVII. 1. *Quid, aut quâ de caussâ*] Expone: *Quid consilii, aut quâ de caussâ* id consilii *habuisset.*

2. *Fide publicâ*] *Introduxi Volturcium sine legatis fidem ei publicam jussu senatûs dedi.* Cic. iii. Cat. cap. iv.

3. *Ex libris Sibyllinis*] A strange woman called *Amalthea,* who was a Sibylla or prophetess, is said to have brought nine books to Tarquinius Superbus last King of Rome; but he refusing to buy them at her price, she burnt three of them, and asked the same price for the remaining six. He looked upon her as distracted; upon which she burnt three more, and came and demanded the same sum for the rest. The King, surprised at the woman's conduct, consulted the augurs, and by their advice bought the remaining three at the full price. The woman went off, and was never more seen. These books were deposited in a stone chest in the Capitol. They were said to contain the fate of the empire, and were consulted as oracles in times of public calamity.

se tertium, cui fatum foret urbis potiri; præterea ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesimum annum, quem sæpe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent bello civili cruentum fore.' Igitur perlectis litteris, cúm priús omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus decernit, 'uti abdicatus magistratu Lentulus, item cæteri in liberis custodiis haberentur.' Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum Ædilis, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Cæsari, Gabinius M. Crasso, Cœparius (nam is paullo anté ex fugâ retractus) Cn. Terentio se-

*of Rome was destined to three Cornelii; that Cinna and Sulla had been before: that he was the third, whose fate it would be to be master of the city: besides, that from the burning of the Capitol this was the twentieth year, which the haruspices often from prodigies had foretold would be bloody with a civil war. Wherefore the letters being read, when once all had owned their seals, the senate voted, 'that Lentulus, after being deposed from his office, and also the rest, should be kept in free ward.' Accordingly Lentulus is delivered to P. Lentulus Spinther, who at that time was Ædile, Cethegus to Q. Cornificius, Statilius to C. Cæsar, Gabinius to M. Crassus, Cæ-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Haruspices respondissent*] These were a religious order at Rome, whose business it was to interpret prodigies, and foretell events by observations on beasts offered in sacrifice. *Respondissent* is here a word of proper style. Cic. i. de div. cap. xxxvi. *Pater ad haruspices retulit, qui* responderunt, *nihil illo puero clarius fore*. See Kennett, b. ii. chap. iv.

5. *In liberis custodiis*] It was a compliment sometimes paid to criminals of high birth and distinction, that they were not sent to the common prison, but committed to the custody of the Consuls, Prætors, Ædiles, or persons who became bail for them; and this kind of confinement was called *libera custodia*.

6. *Ædilis*] So called *ab ædibus curandis*. These were magistrates, four in number, whereof two were elected out of the commons, and were called *Ædiles plebis*; the other two were chosen out of the nobility, and were named *Ædiles curules*, because they were allowed the honour of using the *sella curulis*, which was a chair of state made of ivory, on which they sat in their chariots. The office of the Ædiles was to inspect the building and reparation of public edifices, such as temples, theatres, baths, *&c.* to take care the roads were kept in good repair, to rectify weights and measures, to regulate the games and public diversions. Besides these four Ædiles, Julius Cæsar, *A. U.* 710, added two more out of the nobility, who were called *Ædiles cereales*, because their business was to inspect the public stores of corn, supervise all commodities exposed to sale in the markets, and punish delinquents in matters of buying and selling.

natori traduntur.

*parius (for he had been brought back from his flight a little before) to Cn. Terentius a senator.*

XLVIII. Intereà plebes, conjuratione patefactâ, quæ primò cupida rerum novarum, nimis bello favebat, mutatâ mente, Catilinæ consilia exsecrari, Ciceronem ad cœlum tollere; veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium atque lætitiam agitabant. Namque alia belli facinora prædæ magis, quám detrimento; incendium verò crudele, immoderatum, ac sibi maxumé calamitosum putabat; quippe cui omnes copiæ in usu quotidiano et cultu corporis erant. Post eum diem, quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscentem ex itinere retractum aiebant. Is, cùm se diceret indicaturum de conjuratione, si fides publica data esset; jussus a Consule, quæ sciret, edicere, eadem ferè, quæ Volturcius, de paratis incendiis, de cæde bonorum, de itinere hostium, senatum edocet: prætereà, 'se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinæ nunciaret, ne Lentulus, Cethegus, alii ex conjuratione deprehensi terrerent; eóque magís properaret ad urbem accedere, quò et cæterorum animos reficeret, et illi faciliùs e periculo eriperentur." Sed ubi Tarquini-

XLVIII. *In the mean time the populace, upon the conspiracy's being discovered, who at first, fond of novelty, wished too well to the war, changing their minds, cursed Catiline's designs, cried up Cicero to the skies;* and *as rescued from slavery, made demonstrations of joy and gladness. For they thought other incidents of war* would be *rather for booty than damage; but burning, cruel, incapable of being restrained to bounds, and very pernicious to themselves: as being such whose whole substance consisted in* things of *daily use, and clothes for their body. The day after, one L. Tarquinius was brought before the senate, who, they said was fetched back upon the road, setting out for Catiline. He, upon saying he would make a discovery of the conspiracy, if the public faith was given* for his indemnity; *being ordered by the Consul to declare what he knew, informed the senate of the same things almost that Volturcius* had done, *concerning the intended burning, concerning the massacre of those in power, and concerning the march of the rebels: moreover, 'that he had been sent by M. Crassus to tell Catiline, that the seizing of Lentulus, Cethegus,* and *others in the conspiracy, ought not to fright him; and that so much the more he should hasten to come to the city, whereby he would both revive*

us Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis, summâ potentiâ; alii, rem incredibilem rati; pars, tamen etsi verum existumabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis leniunda, quàm exagitanda videbatur: plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant, 'indicem falsum,' deque eâ re postulant uti referatur. Itaque, consulente Cicerone, frequens senatus decernit: 'Tarquinii indicium falsum videri; eumque in vinculis retinendum; neque ampliùs potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret, cujus consilio tantam rem mentitus esset.' Erant eo tempore, qui æstumarent, illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quò faciliùs, adpellato Crasso, per societatem periculi reliquos illius potentiâ tegeret. Alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant, ne Crassus, more suo, suscepto malorum patrocinio, rempublicam conturbaret. Ipsum Crassum ego posteà prædicantem audivi, tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone impositam.

*the spirits of the rest, and those might be rescued the more easily out of danger.' But when Tarquinius named Crassus, a person of quality, of vast riches, of very great power; some thinking the thing incredible; part, tho' they deemed it true, yet because at such a juncture a man of so great power was rather to be wheedled than provoked: most of them* too *being under obligations to Crassus in private concerns, they cry out, 'the informer was a rascal,' and desire that the house might go upon that affair. Accordingly, Cicero presiding, a very full house voted, 'That Tarquinius's information appeared to be false; and that he should be detained in chains; and no farther liberty* of proceeding in his information *granted him, unless he would make a discovery of the man, by whose advice he had forged so great a falsehood.' There were at that time, who imagined this was contrived by P. Autronius, to the end that, upon Crassus's being named, he might, on account of his sharing in the danger, more easily screen the rest by means of his power. Others said, Tarquinius was suborned by Cicero, that Crassus might not embroil the administration, by undertaking the defence of villains, as his manner was. I heard Crassus himself openly affirm, afterwards, that this great affront was put upon him by Cicero.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLVIII. 1. *Uti referatur*] Tirones nôrunt, Consulem dici *referre* quando rem in senatu proponit sententiasque exquirit.

2. *Neque ampliùs potestatem*] Intellige *potestatem indicii,* vel *indicandi.*

XLIX. Sed îsdem temporibus, Q. Catulus et C. Piso, neque gratiâ neque precibus, neque pretio, Ciceronem impellere potuere, uti per Allobroges, aut alium indicem, C. Cæsar falsò nominaretur. Nam uterque cum illo gravîs inimicitias exercebant: Piso obpugnatus in judicio repetundarum, propter cujusdam Transpadani supplicium injustum: Catulus ex petitione pontificatûs odio incensus, quòd extremâ ætate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adolescentulo Cæsare victus discesserat. Res autem opportuna videbatur; quòd privatìm egregiâ liberalitate, publicé maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam debebat. Sed ubi Consulem ad tantum facinus impellere nequeunt, ipsi singulatìm circumeundo, atque ementiundo, quæ se ex Volturcio, aut Allobrogibus audîsse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam conflaverant; usque eò, ut nonnulli equites Romani, qui præsidii caussâ cum telis erant cir-

XLIX. *But at the same time, Q. Catulus and C. Piso could not prevail upon Cicero, either by interest, or intreaties, or money, that C. Cæsar should be falsely named by the Allobroges, or any other informer. For both were at great enmity with him: Piso having been prosecuted* by him *in an action of damages, for the unjust punishment of a certain person beyond the Po: Catulus being fired with resentment, from the time of his standing for the place of high priest, because in his old age, after having borne the highest offices in the state, he had come off baffled by Cæsar, a young man. Now circumstances appeared favourable* for gaining credit to such a charge; *because by extraordinary generosity in private,* and *very magnificent shows in public, he owed vast sums of money. But when they could not persuade the Consul to so great a villainy, they themselves, by going about to single persons, and forging stories, which they said they had heard of Volturcius, or the Allobroges, drew a mighty odium upon him; even to such a height, that some Roman knights, who, for the sake of defence,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLIX. 1. *Cujusdam Transpadani*] *Transpadani* denotes the people who lived on the north side of the Po. Cæsar was their patron, and had taken part with them in this cause against Piso.

2. *Res autem opportuna videbatur*] Hoc vult: *Id autem, ut nominaretur inter conjuratos, opportunum videbatur, eo quòd,* &c.

3. *Maxumis muneribus*] Our author means *munera gladiatoria.* See cap. xxx. note 5.

cum Concordiæ, seu periculi magnitudine, seu animi nobilitate impulsi, quò studium suum in rempublicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Cæsari gladio minitarentur.

*were in arms round* the temple *of Concord, whether moved by the greatness of the danger, or from a nobleness of soul, that their zeal for the government might be the more conspicuous, threatened Cæsar, as he went out of the senate, with their swords.*

L. Dum hæc in senatu aguntur, et dum legatis Allobrogum et Tito Volturcio, comprobato eorum indicio, præmia decernuntur: liberti, et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli, diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum solicitabant: partìm exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rempublicam vexare soliti. Cethegus autem per nuncios familiam atque libertos suos, exercitatos in audaciam, orabat, grege facto, cum telis ad sese irrumperent. Consul, ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis præsidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu, refert, Quid de iis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. Sed eos paullò antè frequens

L. *Whilst these things are done in the senate, and whilst rewards are voted for the deputies of the Allobroges and T. Volturcius, their information being approved of: the freed-men, and a few of the clients of Lentulus, were soliciting in different quarters,* some of them *the workmen and slaves in the streets, to rescue him: some were seeking out the leaders of mobs, who had been used for hire to disturb the government. And Cethegus by messengers was intreating his servants and freed-men, fellows trained up to bold adventures, that, forming a body, they would break into him with arms. The Consul, when he understood these things were designed, having placed guards, as the occasion and time required, convening the senate, asks,* What they inclined should be done with those who had been committed to custody. *Now a very full senate*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Circum Concordiæ*] An ellipsis, like *ad Juturnæ, in Veneris, a Vestæ, ad Apollinis,* where *ædem* or *æde* is understood.

L. 1. *Liberti*] The free citizens of Rome were either *ingenui, libertini,* or *liberti.* The *ingenui* were such as had been born free, and of parents that had been always free. The *libertini* were born free, but of parents that had been made free. The *liberti* were such as had been actually made free themselves, and were generally much attached to the interest of their old masters on account of this favour.

2. *Partìm exquirebant*] See the note on Jug. cap. lxxxiii.

senatus judicaverat, CONTRA REMPUBLICAM FECISSE. Tum D. Junius Silanus, primus sententiam rogatus, quòd eo tempore Consul designatus erat, de his qui in custodiis tenebantur, præterea de L. Cassio, P. Furio, P. Umbreno, Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumendum decreverat, isque posteà permotus oratione C. Cæsaris, pedibus in sententiam Tib. Neronis iturum se dixerat; quòd de eâ re, præsidiis additis, referendum censuerat. Sed Cæsar, ubi ad eum ventum, rogatus sententiam a Consule, hujuscemodi verba locutus est:

*a little before had found,* that they had acted against the government. *Then D. Junius Silanus, being first asked his opinion, because at that time he was Consul-elect, declared for capital punishment to be inflicted on those who were kept in custody, and also on L. Cassius, P. Furius, P. Umbrenus, and Q. Annius, if they should be apprehended, and he afterwards, being moved by C. Cæsar's speech, said he would go into the sentiment of Tib. Nero; because he was of opinion they should debate on that affair, after strengthening the guards. But Cæsar, when it came to him, being asked his opinion by the Consul, made a speech to this purpose:*

LI. 'Omnîs homines, Patres conscripti, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitiâ, irâ, atque misericordiâ vacuos esse decet. Haud facilè animus verum providet, ubi illa obficiunt. neque quisquam omnium lubidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi inten-

LI. '*Conscript Fathers, it becomes all men, who deliberate upon difficult matters, to be free from hatred, love, anger, and pity. The mind does not easily see the truth, where these stand in the way. nor of all men has any one ever gratified his passion, and* served *his interest at the same time. Where you apply*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Pedibus in sententiam*] There were chiefly three ways by which the members of the senate signified their assent to any thing proposed in the house. 1. *Verbo*, by saying *adsentio*. 2. *Nutu et sublatâ manu*, by nodding the head, and lifting up the hand. 3. *Pedibus*, when the house divided, and all those who were of the same sentiment went apart by themselves, and then, upon numbering heads, the point in dispute was determined according to plurality.

4. *Tib. Neronis*] Qui adservandos tantisper in custodia, dum Catilina debellaretur, et negotium totum exquisitè pernosceretur, censuerat. Appian. ii. Civ. p. 430.

LI. 1. *Lubidini simul et usui paruit*] Inservivit cupiditati simul et utilitati; ea fecit, quæ cuperet, et quæ verè utilia essent.

deris ingenium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus nihil valet. Magna mihi copia memorandi, P. C. qui reges atque populi, irâ aut misericordiâ impulsi, malè consuluerint: sed ea malo dicere, quæ majores nostri, contra lubidinem animi, rectè atque ordine, fecêre. Bello Macedonico, quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas, magna atque magnifica, quæ populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit: sed postquam, bello confecto, de Rhodiis consultum est, majores nostri, ne quis divitiarum magìs, quàm injuriæ caussâ bellum inceptum diceret, impunitos dimisere. Item, bellis Punicis omnibus, cùm sæpè Carthaginienses, et in pace, et per inducias, multa nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occasionem talia fecêre: magis, quid se dignum foret, quàm quid in illis jure fieri posset, quærebant. Hoc idem providendum est,

*your judgment, it is of force: if passion got possession, it rules, reason avails nothing. Illustrious Fathers, I have a large field for relating, what kings and* what *states, influenced by resentment or compassion, have taken bad measures: but I choose rather to mention those things, which our ancestors, against the passion of their own mind, have done rightly and judiciously. In the Macedonian war, which we carried on with King Perses, the great and flourishing state of the Rhodians, which had been raised thro' the interest of the Roman people, was treacherous and hostile to us: but the war being finished, after a consultation was held concerning the Rhodians, our ancestors, lest any should say the war was undertaken rather on account of their wealth, than* any *wrong* done us, *dismissed them unpunished. Likewise in all the Punic wars, when often the Carthaginians had committed many detestable villainies, both in peace and in the time of truces, they never upon any occasion did such things* to them: *they inquired rather, what would be worthy of themselves, than what might in justice*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Ordine fecere*] Justè, consilio, in quo est *ordo* rerum gerendarum.

3. *Item, bellis Punicis*] *Punicus* is derived from *Pœni,* with the like change as *punio* from *pœna,* or *munio* from *mœnia:* and *Pœni,* is the same with *Phœni, i. e.* the *Phœnicians,* from whom the Carthaginians were originally descended; for they came from Tyre, an ancient city of Phœnicia, first built, says Prideaux, by the Zidonians, 240 years before Solomon's temple; and hence the prophet Isaiah, cap. xxiii. ver. 12, calls Tyre the daughter of Zidon. See Jug. cap. xix. note 4.

Pâtres conscripti, ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et cæterorum scelus, quàm vestra dignitas; neu magis iræ, quàm famæ, consulatis. Nam si digna pœna pro factis eorum reperitur, novum consilium adprobo: sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exsuperat; iis utendum censeo, quæ legibus comparata sunt. Plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt, compositè atque magnificè casum reipublicæ miserati sunt: quæ belli sævitia, quæ victis acciderent, enumeravere. rapi virgines, pueros: divelli liberos a parentum complexu: matres familiarum pati, quæ victoribus collibuissent: fana atque domos exspoliari: cædem, incendia fieri: postremò, armis, cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. Sed, per deos immortalis, quò illa oratio pertinuit? an, uti vos infestos conjurationi faceret? scilicet quem res tanta atque tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio accendet. Non ita est: neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur: multi eas graviùs æquo habuere. Sed aliis alia licentia, Patres conscripti. qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent, si quid iracundiâ

*be done to them. Illustrious Fathers, the same ought to be minded* by you, *let not the wickedness of P. Lentulus and the rest weigh more with you than your own honour; and do not consult your resentment, more than your reputation. For if a condign punishment for their deeds is found out, I approve of new measures: but if the greatness of their crime exceed the invention of all; I think we should use those* punishments *which are provided by the laws. Most of those, who have told their sentiments before me, have elegantly and nobly lamented the case of the commonwealth: they have reckoned up what would be the cruel consequence of a war, what would befal the conquered. that virgins would be ravished, boys* abused: *children pulled from the embraces of their parents: matrons subjected to whatever should be the pleasure of the conquerors: temples and houses plundered: that there would be massacre and burning: finally, all* places *filled with arms, dead bodies, blood and lamentation. But, by the immortal gods, to what purpose served that discourse? Was it to make you incensed against the conspiracy? Yes, a speech will inflame him, whom a crime so great and so monstrous has not moved. It is not so: nor do one's own injuries seem small to any man: many have reckoned them greater than what was reasonable. But,*

deliquere, pauci sciunt; fama atque fortuna pares sunt: qui magno imperio præditi in excelso ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales novere. Ita in maxumâ fortunâ minuma licentia est. neque studere, neque odisse, sed minumè irasci decet. quæ apud alios iracundia dicitur, in imperio superbia atque crudelitas adpellatur. Equidem ego sic æstumo, Patres conscripti, omnîs cruciatus minores, quàm facinora illorum esse. sed plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in hominibus impiis sceleris obliti de pœnâ disserunt, si ea paullò severior fuit. D. Silanum virum fortem atque strenuum, certé scio, quæ dixerit, studio reipublicæ dixisse, neque illum in tantâ re gratiam, aut inimicitias exercere. eos mores, eam modestiam viri cognovi. Verùm sententia non mihi crudelis, quid enim in talîs homines crudele fieri potest? sed aliena a republicâ nostrâ videtur. Nam profectò aut metus, aut injuria te subegit, Silane, Consulem designatum, genus pœnæ novum decernere. De timore supervacaneum est disserere, cùm præsenti diligentiâ clarissumi viri Con-

*Illustrious Fathers, a different liberty is* allowed *to different persons. mean men, who pass their life in obscurity, if they trip in any thing through passion, few know of it; their fame and fortune are alike: all men know the actions of those, who, endued with great power, live in exalted stations. Thus in the greatest fortune there is the least liberty. it becomes* them *neither to favour, nor hate, but least of all to be in wrath. what is called passion in others, is named pride and cruelty in the government. Truly, my Lords, I reckon thus, that all tortures are less than their crimes, but most men keep in their minds the last things* they see, *and, in the case of guilty persons, forgetting their wickedness, descant upon their punishment, if that was a little more severe* than ordinary. *I well know, that the brave worthy gentleman D. Silanus said what he said out of zeal for the public, and that he did not practise favour or feud in so weighty a matter. I have found that such are the morals, such the moderation of the gentleman. But his advice appears to me not cruel, for what can be cruel against such men? but improper for our government. For certainly, Silanus, either fear or injury have forced you,* now *Consul elect, to vote a new kind of punishment. It is needless to talk of fear, when such power-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Præsenti diligentiâ*] *Præsens* est adjuvans, præstans, intenta.

sulis tanta præsidia sint in armis. De pœnâ, possumus equidem dicere id quod res habet: in luctu atque miseriis, mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultrà neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse. Sed, per deos immortalìs, quamobrem in sententiam non addidisti, uti priùs verberibus in eos animadverteretur? an, quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliæ leges item condemnatis civibus animam non eripi, sed in exilium permitti jubent. An, quia gravius est verberari, quàm necari? quid autem acerbum, aut grave nimìs in homines tanti facinoris convictos? Sin quia levius; quì convenit in minore negotio legem timere, cùm eam in majore neglexeris? At enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas reipublicæ decretum erit? tempus, dies, fortuna, cujus lubido gentibus moderatur. Illis meritò accidit, quidquid evenerit: ceterùm vos, Patres conscripti, quid in alios statuatis, considerate. Omnia mala exempla ex

*ful guards are in arms by the effectual care of that most illustrious person the Consul. As to the punishment, we may indeed say that which the thing implies: that, in mourning and misery, death is a rest from sorrows, not a torment; it puts an end to all the evils of mortals; beyond it there is no room either for anxiety or joy. But, by the gods immortal, why did you not add to your advice, that first they should be punished with stripes? Was it, because the Porcian law forbids it? but other laws likewise enjoin life not to be taken from condemned citizens, but that they be sent into banishment. Or was it, because it is a heavier punishment to be scourged, than put to death? but what is severe or too heavy for men convicted of so great a crime? but if* it was, *because it is lighter; how is it consistent to regard the law in a smaller matter, when you slight it in a greater? But forsooth who will blame what shall be resolved upon against murderers of the commonwealth?* I answer, *time, days,* and *fortune, whose pleasure rules nations. Whatever shall fall out, happens deservedly to them; but, worthy Fathers, consider ye what ye determine against o-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

5. *Lex Porcia vetat*] The author M. Porcius, Tribune of the commons, *A. U.* 453, commanding that no magistrate should execute, or punish with rod, a Roman Citizen; but, upon sentence of condemnation, should permit him to go into exile, contrary to their former practise of scourging, and then putting to death.

bonis orta sunt: sed ubi imperium ad ignaros, aut minùs bonos pervenit: novum illud [exemplum] ab dignis et idoneis, ad indignos et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposuere, qui rempublicam eorum tractarent. Hi primò cœpere pessumum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum necare. ea populus lætari, et meritò dicere fieri. Post, ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxtà bonos et malos lubidinosè interficere, cæteros metu terrere. Ita civitas, servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ gravis pœnas dedit. Nostrâ memoriâ, victor Sulla cùm Damasippum et alios hujusmodi, qui malo reipublicæ creverant, jugulari jussit, quis non factum ejus laudabat? homines scelestos, factiosos, qui seditionibus rempublicam exagitaverant, meritò necatos aiebant. Sed ea res magnæ initium cladis fuit. Nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremò aut vas, aut vestimentum alicujus concupiverat, dabat operam, uti in proscriptorum numero esset. Ita qui-

*thers. All bad examples have their rise from good* designs. *but when the administration descends to ignorant or less worthy persons, that new* [*precedent*] *is transferred from deserving and proper* objects, *to undeserving and improper* ones. *The Lacedemonians, having conquered the Athenians, set over them thirty men, who were to manage their republic. These at first began to put to death every one most wicked and odious to all, without trial. the people rejoiced at this, and said it was done deservedly. Afterwards when by degrees* their *licentiousness increased, they cut off equally the good and bad at their pleasure,* and *daunted the rest with fear. Thus the state, borne down with slavery, suffered heavy punishment for their foolish rejoicing. In our own time, when the conqueror Sulla ordered Damasippus and others of his stamp, who had been raised by the misfortune of the public, to be put to death, who did not commend his deed? they said, that wicked turbulent fellows, who had plagued the state with their mutinous practices, were put to death deservedly. But that procedure was the beginning of a mighty disaster. For as any one coveted a house, or country-seat, at last either a*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Damasippum*] The city Prætor, and one of the Marian faction. He had employed all his interest, in a most malicious and cruel manner, against Sulla and his party.

bus Damasippi mors lætitiæ fuerat, post paullò ipsi trahebantur: neque priùs finis jugulandi fuit, quàm Sulla omnîs suos divitiis explevit. Atque ego hæc non in M. Tullio, neque his temporibus vereor; sed in magnâ civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt. Potest alio tempore, alio Consule, cui item exercitus in manus, falsum aliquid pro vero credi. ubi hoc exemplo, per senati decretum, Consul gladium eduxerit, quis finem statuet, aut quis moderabitur? Majores nostri, Patres conscripti, neque consilii, neque audaciæ umquam eguere: neque superbia obstabat, quò minùs aliena instituta, si modò proba, imitarentur. Arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt: postremò, quod ubique apud socios, aut hostîs idoneum videbatur, cum summo studio domi exsequebantur; imitari, quàm invidere bonis malebant. Sed eodem illo tempore, Græciæ morem imitati, verberibus animadvertebant in civîs, de condemnatis summum supplicium sumebant. Post-

*piece of plate, or a* fine *coat of any one, he did his endeavour, that he might be* put *in the list of the proscribed. Thus* they *to whom the death of Damasippus had been matter of joy, a little after were dragged themselves* to execution: *nor was there an end of butchering, till Sulla had glutted all his* party *with riches. Indeed I do not fear these things in M. Tullius, nor in these times; but in a mighty state there are many and various humours. Some falsehood may be believed for truth at another time, under another Consul, who likewise may have an army at his command; when upon this precedent, by a vote of the senate, a Consul shall have drawn the sword, who shall set limits, or who shall bound him? Our ancestors, worthy Fathers, neither at any time wanted conduct nor courage: nor did pride hinder them from imitating foreign customs, provided they were good. They borrowed from the Samnites arms and weapons of war, most of the badges of the magistrates from the Tuscans: in fine, they put in practice at home, with the utmost zeal, what every where appeared useful among allies, or enemies: they chose rather to imitate than envy the good. But at the same time, imitating the custom of*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

7. *Ab Tuscis*] Inde fasces, trabeæ, curules, annuli, phaleræ, paludamenta, prætexta; inde, quod aureo curru quatuor equis triumphatur: togæ pictæ, tunicæque palmatæ; omnia denique decora et insignia, quibus imperii dignitas eminet. Flor. 1. cap. 5.

quàm respublica adolevit, et multitudine civium factiones valuere, circumvenire innocentes, alia hujuscemodi fieri cœpere. tum lex Porcia, aliæque paratæ; quibus legibus exsilium damnatis permissum. Hanc ego caussam, Patres conscripti, quò minùs novum consilium capiamus, in primis magnam puto. Profectò virtus atque sapientia major in illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum imperium fecere, quàm in nobis, qui ea bene parta vix retinemus. Placet igitur, eos dimitti, et augeri exercitum Catilinæ? minumè; sed ita censeo: publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis habendos per municipia, quæ maxumè opibus valent: neu quis de ìs postea ad senatum referat, neve cum populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare, eum contra rempublicam et salutem omnium facturum."

*Greece, they beat citizens with stripes*, and *inflicted capital punishment on condemned persons. After the state grew great, and by the number of citizens factions prevailed, they trepanned the innocent*, and *other things of this nature began to be practised. upon that the Porcian law, and others* too *were provided; by which laws banishment was allowed to condemned persons. Honourable Fathers, I think this a great reason in particular, why we should not take new measures. Certainly there was greater merit and wisdom in them, who made so great an empire out of a small state, than in us, who with much ado retain the things happily acquired. Is it my sentiment then, that they be dismissed, and Catiline's army reinforced? by no means; but thus I give my opinion: That their estates should be confiscated, themselves kept in prison in the free towns, which are of greatest note for strength: That none make application to the senate afterwards concerning them, nor deal with the people* in their favour: *That, who shall do otherwise, the senate judges he shall act against the state, and the public safety.*"

LII. Postquàm Cæsar dicendi finem fecit, cæteri verbo alius alii variè adsentiebantur: at M. Porcius Cato rogatus sententi-

LII. *After Cæsar made an end of speaking, the rest signified their assent by words, some to one, some to another, variously: but M. Porcius Cato being asked*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

8. *Publicandas eorum pecunias*] Publico ærario adjudicandas, quem morem a Græcis Romani acceperunt. *Pecunia* notat omnia bona.

LII. 1. *M. Porcius Cato*] This is the famous Cato, who transport-

am, hujuscemodi orationem habuit. //

" Longè mihi alia mens est, Patres conscripti, cùm res atque pericula nostra considero, et cùm sententias nonnullorum mecum ipse reputo. Illi mihi disseruisse videntur de pœnâ eorum, qui patriæ, parentibus, aris atque focis suis bellum paravere: res autem monet, cavere ab illis, quàm, quid in illis statuamus, consultare. Nam cætera tum persequaré, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi provideris, ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra judicia implores. captâ urbe, nihil fit reliqui victis. Sed, per deos immortalîs, vos ego adpello, qui semper domos, villas, signa, tabulas vestras pluris, quàm rempublicam fecistis: si ista, cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplexamini, retinere, si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere voltis; expergiscimini aliquando, et capessite rempublicam. Non agitur de vectigalibus, non de sociorum injuriis; libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. Sæpenumero, Patres consripti, multa verba in hoc ordine feci:

*his opinion, had a speech to this purpose.*

" *Illustrious Fathers, I have a far different judgment, when I consider our circumstances and our danger, and when I recount with myself the sentiments of some. They seem to me to have discoursed concerning the punishment of those who have raised a war against their country, parents, religion, and properties: but the case advises,* rather *to guard against them, than deliberate what* punishment *we should determine for them. For you may punish other* crimes, *when they are committed; this* you cannot punish, *unless you take care that it do not happen:* for *you crave sentence in vain, when it falls out, when the city is taken, nothing remains to the conquered. But, by the immortal gods, I address myself to you, who always have valued more your houses, country-seats, statues* and *pictures, than the commonwealth: if you would keep those things, of whatever nature they be, which you fondly hug, if you would have leisure for* pursuing *your pleasures; rouse at last, and take care of the republic. We are not treating of the revenues, nor of the ill usage of our allies; liberty and our life is at stake. Gentlemen, I*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

ed with indignation at the success of Julius Cæsar in the civil wars, stabbed himself, and died at Utica; and upon that account was ever after sirnamed *Uticensis*. Our writer gives his character, cap. liv. He was the grandson of Porcius Cato, the renowned moralist, who used to conclude his speeches in the senate with this exclamation, *Delenda est Carthago.*

sæpe de luxuriâ atque avaritiâ nostrorum civium quèstus sum; multosque mortalîs eâ caussâ advorsos habeo. qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facilè alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam. Sed, ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, tamen respublica firma, opulentia negligentiam tolerabat. Nunc verò non id agitur, bonis, an malis moribus vivamus; nequè quantum, aut quàm magnificum imperium populi Romani: sed cujus hæc cumque modi, nostra, an nobiscum unà, hostium futura sint. Hìc mihi quisquam mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat? jam pridem equidem nos vera rerum vocabula amisimus; quia bona aliena largiri, liberalitas; malarum rerum audacia fortitudo vocatur. eò respublicà in extremo sita. Sint sanè, quoniam ita se mores habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint misericordes in furibus ærarii: ne illis sanguinem nostrum largiantur; et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnîs perditum eant. Benè et compositè C. Cæsar paullò antè in hoc ordine de vitâ et morte disseruit; falsa, credo, existu-

*have often made long speeches in this house: I have often complained of the luxury and avarice of our citizens; and I have many men my enemies on that account. I, who had indulged myself and my own humour in no fault at any time, could not easily pardon crimes committed by the extravagance of another. But, though you little regarded this, yet the republic was secure, her opulency did admit of your remissness. But now the question is not, whether we are to live according to good or bad morals; nor how great, or how magnificent the empire of the Roman people* may be made: *but whether these things, whatever they be, are to be our own, or together with ourselves the* prey of *enemies. Does any one mention to me mildness and mercy in this case? long since indeed we have lost the true names of things; for to lavish away the goods of others, is called generosity; boldness in wicked actions is called bravery; by this means the state is* come to be *in a desperate situation. Let them be indeed, since the fashions are such, generous out of the fortunes of* our *allies, let them be compassionate to robbers of the treasury:* but *let them not make a present of our blood to them; and go on to ruin all good people, while they spare a few villains. C. Cæsar a little before discoursed finely and artfully in this house concerning life and*

maus, quæ, de inferis memorantur: diverso itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda, atque formidolosa habere. Itaque censuit, PECUNIAS EORUM PUBLICANDAS, IPSOS PER MUNICIPIA IN CUSTODIIS HABENDOS; videlicet timens, ne, si Romæ sint, aut a popularibus conjurationis, aut a multitudine conductâ per vim eripiantur. Quasi verò mali atque scelesti tantummodò in urbe, et non per totam Italiam sint; aut non ibi plus possit audacia, ubi ad defendendum opes minores. Quare vanum equidem hoc consilium, si periculum ex illis metuit. sin in tanto omnium metu solus non timet; eò magìs refert mihi atque vobis timere. Quare cùm de P. Lentulo cæterisque statuetis, pro certo habetote, vos simul de exercitu Catilinæ, et de omnibus conjuratis decernere. Quanto vos attentiùs ea agetis, tanto illis animus infirmior erit. si paullulùm modò vos languere viderint, jam omnes feroces aderunt. Nolite existumare, majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parvâ magnam fecisse: Si ita res esset, multò pulcherrumam eam nos habe-

*death; supposing, I imagine, those things false, which are told about the state of the dead: that bad men, in a region separated from the good, possess dismal, waste, ugly, and frightful places. And therefore he was of opinion,* their estates should be confiscated, *and* themselves detained in custody in the franchised towns; *fearing, it seems, lest, if they were at Rome, they should be rescued by force, either by the accomplices of the conspiracy, or by a hired mob. As if indeed rascals and villains were in the city only, and not through all Italy; or a daring temper could not do more in a place where there is less strength for defence. Wherefore this advice is indeed idle, if he fears dangers from them; but if in this so great general consternation he alone be not afraid; so much the more it concerns me to be afraid for myself, and you for yourselves. Wherefore, when you shall pass judgment on P. Lentulus and the rest* of the prisoners, *reckon for certain, that you determine at the same time concerning Catiline's army, and all the conspirators. By how much the more vigorously you shall execute this, so much will their courage be the weaker, if they see you faint but a little, instantly all will advance boldly. Don't imagine, that our forefathers made the republic great of a small one by*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Refert mihi atque vobis timere*] It is thus to be resolved, *refert me mihi, atque vos vobis timere.*

remus: quippe sociorum atque civium, prætereà armorum atque equorum major nobis copia, quàm illis. Sed alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere; quæ nobis nulla sunt: domi industria, foris justum imperium, animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto, neque lubidini obnoxius. Pro his nos habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam; publicè egestatem, privatìm opulentiam; laudamus divitias, sequimur inertiam; inter bonos et malos discrimen nullum; omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidet. Neque mirum; ubi vos separatìm sibi quisque consilium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hìc pecuniæ, aut gratiæ servitis; eò fit, ut impetus fiat in vacuam rempublicam. Sed ego hæc omitto. Conjuravere nobilissumi cives patriam incendere: Gallorum gentem infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum arcessunt: dux hostium supra caput est: vos cunctamini etiam nunc, quid intra mœnia adprehensis hostibus faciatis? Misereamini, censeo: deliquere homines adolescentuli per ambitionem; atque etiam armatos dimit-

*arms. If the matter were so, we should have it by far the most excellent: for we have greater abundance of allies and citizens, as also of arms and horses, than they had. But there were other things which made them great; none of which we have:* I mean, *industry at home, just administration abroad, a mind disinterested in council, under the influence neither of guilt nor passion. Instead of these, we have luxury and avarice; public poverty, private plenty; we praise riches, we indulge sloth; there is no distinction between good men and bad; ambition possesses all the rewards of virtue. Nor is it strange; when you separately take measures every one for himself, when at home you are slaves to pleasure, here to money, or favour; hence it comes, that an assault is made upon the abandoned state. But I pass these things.* Some *very noble citizens have conspired to fire the city: they solicit to the war the nation of the Gauls, the most spiteful enemies to the Roman state: the commander of the enemy is on our top: do you demur as yet, what you should do with rebels catched within the walls? You should pity them, I suppose: the young men have been misled by the love of power; and you may send them off armed too. Certainly that mildness and mer-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *In vacuam rempublicam*] *Defensoribus,* or some such word, is understood.

tatis. Ne ista vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma ceperint, in miseriam vertet. Scilicet res aspera est; sed vos nôn timetis eam. Immò verò maxumè; sed inertiâ et mollitiâ animi, alius alium expectantes cunctamini, dìs immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempublicam in maxumis sæpe periculis servavere. Non votis, neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando, agendo, benè consulendo prospera omnia cedunt: ubi socordiæ te atque ignaviæ tradideris, nequidquam deos implores; irati infestique sunt. Apud majores nostros T. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quòd is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat, necari jussit. atque ille egregius adolescens immoderatæ fortitudinis morte pœnas dedit. vos de crudelissumis parricidis quid statuatis, cunctamini? Videlicet vita cætera eorum huic sceleri obstat. Verùm, parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiæ, si famæ suæ, si dìs aut hominibus umquam ullis pepercit: igno-

*cy, if they get* their *arms, will turn to your misery. To be sure the case is dangerous; but you are not afraid of it. Nay truly very much; but through a lifelessness and indolence of spirit, you hang back waiting for one another, depending upon the immortal gods, who have often saved this republic in the greatest dangers. The assistance of the gods is not procured by vows, nor womanish prayers: by watching, by doing, by taking well-advised measures, all things prove successful: when you have given up yourself to idleness and sloth, you invoke the gods to no purpose; they are angry and enraged. Among our ancestors, T. Manlius Torquatus, in the Gallic war, ordered his own son to be put to death, because he had fought against the enemy contrary to orders; and that excellent youth was punished with death for his ill-governed courage. do you demur, what you should determine with respect to the most barbarous parricides? The other parts of their life, it seems, stand opposed to this crime. Yes, show regard to the quality of Lentulus, if ever he showed regard to his chastity, if to his credit, if to the gods, or any man: pardon the youth of Cethegus; unless he has made war upon his*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Ne ista vobis mansuetudo*] The particle *ne* in this place, which is the same with the Greek *ναὶ*, and signifies *truly, certainly*, is by the moderns writ with *æ* diphthong, but with *e* vowel by the ancients, and by Sallust as here, and in Jug. cap. xiv. Ne ille——*gravîs pœnas reddet.* Cap. lxxxv. Ne *illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res pariter expectant.*

scite Cethegi adolescentiæ; nisi iterùm patriæ bellum fecit. Nam quid ego de Gabinio, Statilio, Cœpario loquar? quibus si quidquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de republicâ habuissent. Postremò, Patres conscripti, si mehercule peccato locus esset, facilè paterer, vos ipsâ re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis. Sed undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget: alii intra mœnia, in sinu urbis sunt hostes: neque parari, neque consuli quidquam occultè potest. quò magìs properandum. Quare ita ego censeo: cùm nefario consilio sceleratorum civium respublica in maxuma pericula venerit, hique indicio T. Volturcii, et legatorum Allobrogum convicti, confessique sint, cædem, incendia, alia fœda atque crudelia facinora in civìs patriamque paravisse; de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more majorum, supplicium sumendum."

*country* now *a second time. For why should I speak of Gabinius, Statilius,* and *Cæparius; who, if ever they had any consideration, would not have entertained such designs concerning the state. Finally, Fathers, by heavens, if there were room for the blunder, I could easily suffer you to be set right by the event itself, since you despise words. But we are beset on all sides. Catiline with an army advances to our throats; there are other enemies within the walls, in the heart of the city: nor can any thing be provided, or consulted secretly. on which account we ought to use the greater expedition. Wherefore thus I give my opinion: Since the state has come into the greatest jeopardy by the villainous contrivance of wicked citizens, and they having been convicted by the evidence of T. Volturcius, and the deputies of the Allobroges, and having confessed, that they had designed massacre, burning,* and *other foul and cruel outrages against their fellow-citizens and country; that, according to the usage of our ancestors, punishment should be inflicted upon those that have confessed, as upon persons evidently guilty of capital crimes.'*

LIII. Postquam Cato adsedit; consulares omnes, itemque senatûs magna

LIII. *After Cato sat down; all the Consular members, and also a great part of the senate, ap-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Nisi iterùm patriæ bellum fecit*] Some think Cethegus had sided with Marius in the civil wars: others take what is here said to refer to the conspiracy of Piso, mentioned cap. xviii. in which they say Cethegus was concerned.

pars, sententiam ejus laudant, virtutem animi ad cœlum ferunt: alii alios increpantes timidos vocant: Cato magnus atque clarus habetur: senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat. Sed mihi multa legenti, multa audienti, quæ populus Romanus domi militiæque, mari atque terrâ, præclara facinora fecit, fortè lubuit attendere, quæ res maxumè tanta negotia sustinuisset. Sciebam, sæpenumerò parvâ manu cum magnis legionibus hostium contendisse: cognoveram, parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus: ad hoc, sæpe fortunæ violentiam toleravisse: facundiâ Græcos, gloriâ belli Gallos, ante Romanos fuisse. Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse: eóque factum, uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret. Sed postquam luxu atque desidiâ civitas corrupta est; rursus respublica magnitudine suâ imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat; ac, sicuti effœta parentum, multis tempestatibus haud sanè quisquam Romæ virtute magnus fuit.

*plaud his sentiment, extol the bravery of his spirit to the heavens: in an upbraiding manner they call one another cowards: Cato is celebrated as a great and an illustrious hero: the decree of the senate passes as he had advised. But I, upon reading many and hearing of many glorious achievements, which the Roman people did, at home and in war, by sea and land, was accidentally inclined to consider narrowly, what things chiefly had supported so great performances. I was sensible, that often with a small handful they had engaged with mighty armies of their enemies: I had found, that wars had been carried on by small forces with potent kings: and further, that often they had borne the shocks of fortune: that the Greeks for eloquence, the Gauls for reputation in war, were before the Romans. And to me, upon revolving many things, it appeared certain, that the extraordinary conduct of a few citizens had effected all: and hence it came to pass, that poverty vanquished riches,* and *a handful, multitudes. But after the city was debauched with luxury and idleness; the commonwealth in its turn, by its own grandeur, supported the vices of its generals and magistrates; and, as* happens to *a mother past bearing, there has been indeed*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LIII. *Ac, sicuti effœta parentum*] Ac, sicuti *effœta parens*, inter parentes, *sese habere solet*, ut nullos ampliùs liberos proferat; sic Roma sese habuit, ubi multis tempestatibus nemo virtute magnus fuit.

Sed memoriâ meâ ingenti virtute, divorsi moribus fuere viri duo, M. Cato et C. Cæsar: quos, quoniam res obtulerat, silentio præterire, non fuit consilium, quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantùm ingenio possem, aperirem.

*for many years not any one eminent for a great character at Rome. But in my own time there have been two men, M. Cato and C. Cæsar, of extraordinary abilities,* though *different in their way: whom, since an opportunity has offered, it was not my design to pass over in silence, but open up the genius and manners of both, as much as, according to my capacity, I am able.*

LIV. Igitur his genus,

LIV. *Their extraction then,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LIV. 1. *Igitur his genus*] Mr. John Clarke, in his preface to Sallust, is highly offended at the comparison here drawn betwixt Cato and Cæsar; but at the same time he frankly acknowledges, that this is the only material fault he knows in Sallust. Some of his words are, "It is an outrage upon common sense, to run a parallel betwixt two men of such "opposite characters, so as to leave it at last a disputable point, which "was the greater and better of the two. Cæsar was indeed a person of "vast abilities; but then he had nothing in him that bore any resemblance "of a virtue, but what was intended directly to promote the worst and "most wicked design that can enter into the heart of man to conceive, "the destruction of the liberties of his country. The generosity, easiness, "and clemency Sallust celebrates him for, were in him arts or tricks, "practised purely with a view to acquire and secure to himself the possession of an arbitrary power over his fellow-citizens. Shall any man be "accounted or styled mild and merciful, whose insatiable thirst after "power made him wade through seas of blood to come at it? He was "not a whit better man than Catiline, but had a great deal more cunning, "and much greater abilities, whereby he at length executed with success, "what the other attempted only to his own destruction. Cato was a "brave and worthy patriot. And to compare two such men together, "whose characters were as opposite to one another, as black and white, "in the manner Sallust has done, was vile daubing, setting a gloss upon "the most extreme wickedness, to give it the air and lustre of virtue."

As Mr. Clarke looks upon this comparison betwixt Cato and Cæsar with abhorrence and indignation, so he brings a heavy and odious charge against Sallust for being the drawer of it. But I am of opinion, that, upon due examination, it will be found there is no just ground for such a censure. It is far less difficult, as well as much safer, to draw characters of men after their death, than in the time of their life. It is an easy matter for us now, upon looking back to the history of those times, to see a great disparity in these two men's characters: that the one regulated his behaviour by principles of virtue and honour; that a vicious unbounded ambition influenced and directed the conduct of the other: that Cato lived and died a true patriot, and that Cæsar aggrandized

ætas, eloquentia propè æqualia fuere: magnitudo animi par, item gloria; sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentiâ magnus habebatur; integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine et misericordiâ clarus factus: huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus. In altero miseris perfugium; in altero malis pernicies. Illius facilitas; hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremò, Cæsar in animum induxerat laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua neglegere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, novum bellum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxumè severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque fac-

*their age, their eloquence were almost equal; their greatness of soul* was *the same, as also their glory; but in each of a different kind. Cæsar was esteemed great for his kind offices and generosity: Cato for the integrity of his life. The former became famous by clemency and compassion: rigid strictness gave a mighty reputation to the latter. Cæsar acquired glory by giving, by relieving, by forgiving; Cato by offering no presents* to bribe the people. *In the one* there was *a refuge for the miserable; in the other* certain *destruction for the wicked. The frankness of the former was celebrated; the steadiness of the latter. Finally, Cæsar had put on a resolution to labour,* and *to watch; quite taken up with the affairs of his friends, he neglected his own; refused nothing that was worth the giving; he wished for great command to himself, for an army, for an uncommon war, where his vast abilities might be displayed. But for Cato was the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

himself upon the ruin of the public. But the case was quite otherwise with Sallust at the time when he wrote this history, which was about the year of Rome 703 or 704, and so about a year or two before the civil war broke out betwixt Cæsar and Pompey; as M. Le Clerc, in his life of Sallust, makes highly probable. At this time Cæsar's character was fair; he was a man of extraordinary abilities, of an insinuating and invincible eloquence, greatly beloved by the people on account of his generosity, was an able minister of state, a glorious and successful general, and had not made the least open attempt upon the liberties of his country. Sallust could not know the secret springs or motives of his conduct, nor foresee what use he would make of his power: how then is he culpable for comparing Cæsar with another great man of that age, and giving him the character he really had at the time when he wrote?

4. *Novum bellum*] *Novum* est, quod antea non fuit *singulare.*

tione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentiâ certabat; esse, quàm videri, bonus malebat; ita quò minùs gloriam petebat, eò magìs sequebatur.

*study of sobriety, of decency, but especially of strict discipline. He did not vie with the rich in riches, nor in faction with the party-man; but in bravery with the brave, in modesty with the modest, in innocence with the guiltless; he chose rather to be good than appear so: thus the less he courted fame, the more it followed him.*

LV. Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis sententiam discessit, Consul optumum factu ratus, noctem, quæ instabat, antecapere, ne quid eo spatio novaretur, Triumviros, quæ supplicium postulabat, parare jubet: ipse, dispositis præsidiis, Lentulum in carcerem deducit: idem fit cæteris per Prætores. Est locus in carcere, quod Tullianum adpellatur, ubi paullulùm ascenderis ad lævam, circitèr duodecim pedes humi depressus. Eum muniunt undique parietes, atque insuper camera, lapideis fornicibus vincta: sed incultu, tenebris, odore fœda atque terribilis ejus facies est. In eum lo-

LV. *After, as I said, the senate went into Cato's opinion, the Consul thinking it best to prevent the night which was coming on, lest, in that space, something new should be attempted, orders the Triumviri to get ready what things the execution required: he himself, after posting the guards, conducts Lentulus to the prison: the same* office *is done to the rest by the Prætors. There is a place in the gaol which is called Tullianum,* or the dungeon, *as you advance a little to the left, sunk about twelve feet under ground. Walls environ it on all sides, and above* is *a roof knit together with stone arches; but its appearance is noisome and frightful, for nastiness, darkness,* and *stench. After Lentulus was let down into this*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LV. 1. *Triumviros*] These, so called from their number, were persons appointed to oversee the prison, and execute the sentence of the senate or magistrates on criminals. They were called *capitales*, both from the nature of their office, and also to distinguish them from the *Triumviri monetales*, who had the charge of the mint; and from the *Triumviri nocturni*, who had the charge of the watches for preventing fire in the night.

2. *Tullianum*] Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, enlarged and finished the public prison begun by Ancus Marcius, and in it made this dungeon, which from his name was called *Tullianum*. For the construction, see Jug. cap. xix. note 9.

cum postquam demissus Lentulus, quibus præceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. Ita ille patricius, ex clarissumâ gente Corneliorum, qui consulare imperium Romæ habuerat, dignum moribus factisque suis exitium vitæ invenit. De Cethego, Statilio, Gabinio, Cœpario eodem modo supplicium sumtum.

*place, they, to whom orders had been given, strangled him. Thus that patrician, of the most illustrious family of the Cornelii.* and *who had bore consular authority at Rome, found an end of life suitable to his manners and his deeds. Punishment was inflicted on Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Cœparius, after the same manner.*

LVI. Dum ea Romæ geruntur, Catilina, ex omni copiâ quam et ipse adduxerat, et Manlius habuerat, duas legiones instituit; cohortes, pro numero militum, complet:

LVI. *Whilst these things are doing at Rome, Catiline, out of all the forces which he had carried with him,* and those which *Manlius had, forms two legions; fills up the cohorts according to the number of his sol-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Supplicium sumtum*] Cicero caused these conspirators to be executed in the prison, upon the bare sentence of the senate, without bringing the affair before the assembly of the people (as was usual); which was afterwards improved against him by his enemies, and brought such an odium upon him, as Sallust hints, cap. xxii. that at the instigation of Clodius, Tribune of the commons, he was actually banished out of Italy, his houses demolished both in town and country, and his goods set to sale, but was very honourably recalled about sixteen months after. It is related, that Cicero, as he returned from this execution, upon observing a great number of the conspirators' friends and accomplices, who did not know that they had been put to death, but were preparing to rescue them in the night, turned towards the multitude, and with a loud voice cried out, *vixerunt*, or, *they have lived;* a soft expression used by him on this occasion, instead of the harsher words *mortui sunt*, or, *they are dead.* This happened on the 5th of December, *A. U.* 691.

LVI. 1. *Ex omni copiâ*] *Copia* even in the singular number is sometimes used to signify forces or an army. Tacit. an. ii. 52. *Mazippa levi cum* copiâ *incendia et cædes, et terrorem circumferret.* Virg. Æneid. ii. 564. *Respicio, et quæ sit me circum* copia *lustro.*

2. *Cohortes, pro numero militum*] A legion consisted of ten cohorts, each cohort of three *manipuli*, and each *manipulus* of two *centuriæ.* And this was constantly the form in the Roman armies, whether the legion consisted of a great number or a small: for sometimes a legion had in it 6000 men, and then each *centuria* had 100, and each *manipulus* 200, and each cohort 600. Sometimes the legion consisted only of 3000; and then each *centuria*

deinde, ut quisque voluntarius, aut ex sociis in castra venit, æqualitér distribuerat; ac brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat; cùm initio non ampliús duobus millibus habuisset. Sed ex omni copiâ, circiter pars quarta erat militaribus armis instructa; cæteri, ut quemque casus armaverat, sparos, aut lanceas, alii præacutas sudes portabant. Sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat, Catilina per montîs iter facere, ad urbem modó, modó in Galliam versùs castra movere; hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare. sperabat prope diem sese habiturum, si Romæ socii incœpta patravissent. Intereà servitia repudiabat, cujus initio ad eum magnæ copiæ concurrebant, opibus conjurationis fretus; simul alienum suis rationibus [existumans] videri

*diers: afterward, as any volunteer*, or any *of his associates came to the camp, he disposed of them equally; and in a short time completed the legions with their number of men; whereas at first he had no more than two thousand. But of all his army, about a fourth part* only *was furnished with military weapons: the rest, as chance had provided every one, carried spears, or lances*, and *some sharp stakes. But after Antonius approached with his army, Catiline made his march by the hills, moved his camp sometimes toward the city, sometimes toward Gaul; and gave no opportunity of battle to his adversaries. he hoped he would speedily have a* fine occasion of offering them battle, *if his associates should* once *have effected their enterprise at Rome. In the mean time the slaves, of whom great numbers flocked to him at first, he refused, depending upon the strength of the conspiracy; withal [thinking] that it would ap-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

had 50, each *manipulus* 100, and each cohort 500. Sometimes a legion was made up of 4000, sometimes of 5000, and the number of men in each *centuria, manipulus*, and cohort, varied accordingly.

3. *Æqualitèr distribuerat*] Equally betwixt the two legions, so that each might consist of the same number of men.

4. *Numero hominum*] Such a number as usually went to a legion in the Roman armies at that time.

5. *Sese habiturum*] Cortius thus supplies the sentence, *Sperabat prope diem sese* occasionem pugnandi *habiturum*.

6. *Servitia——cujus*] i. e. *cujus servitii*. Relatives in the singular number sometimes refer to collective antecedents in the plural. Plin. Paneg. cap. xi. *Quod* hostes *invaserunt*, cujus *pulsi fugatique non aliud magis habebatur indicium, quàm quod triumpharetur*. Sueton. Cæs. cap. xxii. Gallius *elegit*, cujus *emolumento idonea sit materia triumphorum*.

caussam civium cum servis fugitivis communicavisse.

*pear improper for his design, to blend the cause of freemen with fugitive slaves.*

LVII. Sed postquam in castra nuncius pervenit, Romæ conjurationem patefactam; de Lentulo, Cethego, cæteris, quos suprà memoravi, supplicium sumtum: plerique, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum, aut novarum rerum studium illexerat, dilabuntur; reliquos Catilina per montîs asperos magnis itineribus in agrum Pistoriensem abducit; eo consilio, uti per tramites occultè perfugerent in Galliam. At Q. Metellus Celer, cum tribus legionibus in agro Piceno præsidebat; ex difficultate rerum eadem illa existumans, quæ suprà diximus, Catilinam agitare. Igitur, ubi iter ejus ex perfugis cognovit, castra properè movet, ac sub ipsis radicibus montium consedit, quà illi descensus erat [in Galliam properanti]. Neque tamen Antonius procul aberat: utpote qui magno exercitu, locis æquioribus expeditus, in fugâ sequeretur. Sed Catilina, postquam videt montibus at-

LVII. *But after the news came to the camp, that the conspiracy was discovered at Rome; that punishment was inflicted on Lentulus, Cethegus,* and *the rest, whom I mentioned above: a great many, whom the hopes of plunder, or the love of change had tempted to the war, slip away: Catiline leads off the rest thro' craggy mountains by great marches into the territory of Pistoria; with this design, that thro' by-roads they might escape privately into Gaul. But Q. Metellus Celer was posted with three legions in the territory of Picene; guessing Catiline, from the distress of his affairs, to be driving the same designs which we mentioned just now. Wherefore, when he got intelligence of his route from deserters, he decamped in all haste, and sat down at the foot of the mountains, where there was a descent for him [hastening into Gaul]. Nor yet was Antonius far off: in regard that with a great army, in a campaign country, and with few incumbrances, he pursued him on his flight. But Catiline, after he sees himself inclosed by the moun-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LVII. 2. *Agrum Pistoriensem*] The country about Pistoria or Pistorium, a town in Etruria, not far from the foot of the Appenines, now called Pistoria.

2. *Præsidebat*] Præsidio erat agro Piceno, ut et illum tueretur, et Catilinæ Gallorumque motus observaret.

que copiis hostium sese clausum, in urbe res adversas, neque fugæ, neque præsidii ullam spem; optumum factu ratus, in tali re fortunam belli tentare, statuit cum Antonio quàm primùm confligere. Itaque, concione advocatâ, hujuscemodi orationem habuit.

LVIII. 'Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem non addere; neque ex ignavo strenuum, neque fortem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri. Quanta cujusque animo audacia naturâ, aut moribus inest, tanta in bello patere solet, quem neque gloria, neque pericula excitant, nequidquam hortere: timor animi auribus obficit. Sed ego vos, quò pauca monerem, advocavi; simul uti caussam consilii aperirem. Scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi cladem nobisque attulerit; quoque modo, dum ex urbe præsidia opperior, in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. Nunc quo in loco res nostræ sint, juxta mecum omnes intelligitis. Exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe, alter a Galliâ obstant; diutiùs in his locis esse, si maxumè animus ferat, frumenti atque alia-

*tains and the enemies' troops, things* running *against him in the city,* and *neither any hope of escape nor defence; thinking it the best way, in such a case, to try the fortune of war, resolved to engage with Antonius as soon as possible. Wherefore, calling together his army, he made a speech to this purpose.*

LVIII. '*Soldiers, I have found that words do not inspire courage; nor any army become active of a spiritless one, nor brave of a cowardly one, by the speech of a general. As much boldness uses to be displayed in war, as is in any one's breast by nature or discipline. you address to no purpose* him *whom neither glory nor dangers rouse: the terror of his mind stops his ears. But I have called you together, that I might put you in mind of a few things; as also that I may lay open the reason of my conduct. Soldiers, you well know how great a mischief the indolence and inactivity of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us; and in what manner, whilst I wait for reinforcements from the city, I have been prevented from getting into Gaul. In what posture our affairs are now, you all understand as well as I. Two armies of enemies, one from the city, another from Gaul, stand in our way: the want of corn and other things does not suffer us to be longer in these places,*

rùm rerum egestas prohibet. Quocumquè ire placet, ferro iter aperiundum est. Quapropter vos moneo, uti forti atque parato animo sitis; et, cùm prælium inibitis, memineritis, vos divitias, decus, gloriam, præthereà libertatem atque patriam in dextris portare.// Si vincimus, omnia nobis tuta, commeatus abundè, coloniæ atque municipia patebunt. siu metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fiunt: neque locus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem arma non texerint. Præthereà, milites, non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet. nos pro partriâ, pro libertate, pro vitâ, certamus: illis supervacaneum est pugnare pro potentiâ paucorum. Quò audaciùs adgredimini, memores pristinæ virtutis. Licuit nobis cum summâ turpitudine in exilio ætatem agere: potuistis nonnulli Româ, amissis bonis, alienas opes exspectare. Quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur, hæc sequi decrevistis. Si relinquere voltis, audaciâ opus est. nemo, nisi victor, pace bellum mutavit. Nam in fugâ salutem sperare, cùm arma, quîs corpus te-

*though our inclination very much leads to it. To whatever place we design to go, the way must be opened with the sword. Wherefore I beseech you, to be of a daring and resolute spirit; and, when you shall enter upon battle, remember that you carry riches, honour, glory, as also liberty and your country in your right hands. If we conquer, all* will be *safe for us, plenty of provisions* will be had, *the colonies and free towns will be open* to receive us. *but if we shall flinch through fear, these very same things turn against us: neither any place, nor any friend will protect* him *whom arms have not protected. Moreover, soldiers, the same necessity does not urge us and them. we fight for our country, for liberty, for life: to them it is unprofitable to fight for the power of a few. Wherefore attack them the more resolutely, mindful of your wonted bravery. We might with the utmost disgrace, have passed our days in banishment: some of you might at Rome, after losing your estates, have looked for subsistence from others.* But *because those things appeared dishonourable and insufferable to men* of spirit, *ye resolved to pursue these measures. If ye incline to quit them, there is need of hardiness. none but a conqueror hath ever exchanged war for peace. For to hope for safety*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LVIII. *Quîs corpus tegitur*]. *Quîs* is put for *quibus*, ...s Gallis, aut
*tiano.*

gitur, ab hostibus averteris, ea verò dementia est. Semper in prælio maxumum est periculum, qui maxumè timent: audacia pro muro habetur. Cùm vos considero, milites, et cùm facta vestra æstumo, magna me spes victoriæ tenet. Animus, ætas, virtus vestra hortantur; præterea necessitudo, quæ etiam timidos fortis facit. Nam multitudo hostium ne circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiæ. Quòd si virtuti vestræ fortuna inviderit, cavete, inulti animam amittatis; neù capti potiùs, sicutí pecora, trucidemini, quàm virorum more pugnantes, cruentam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relinquatis.'

LIX. Hæc ubi dixit, paullulùm commoratus, signa canere jubet; atque instructos ordines in locum æquum deducit: dein remotis omnium equis, quò militibus, exæquato periculo, animus amplior esset, ipse pedes exercitùm, pro loco atque copiis, instruit. Nam, uti planities erat inter sinistros montîs, et ab dextrâ rupe asperâ octo cohortîs in fron-

*in flight, when you have turned your arms, by which your person is protected, from the enemy, that truly is madness. In a battle, always they are in the greatest danger, who are most timorous: boldness is in place of a wall. When I consider you, soldiers, and when I think upon your actions, big hopes of victory possess me. Your spirit, your truth, your bravery encourage* me; *besides necessity, which makes even cowards valiant. For the narrowness of the ground does not permit the enemies' numbers to surround us. But if fortune shall envy your bravery, take care you* do not *lose your life unrevenged: nor be taken and butchered like cattle, rather than fighting like heroes, leave a bloody and sorrowful victory to your enemies.'*

LIX. *When he had spoke thus, after pausing a very little, he gives orders to sound the trumpets; and leads down his troops in proper order to a level ground: and then, removing all their horse, that the soldiers might have the greater courage, their danger being equal, he himself on foot marshals his army, as the nature of the ground and his number of men required. For, as the plain was* situate *betwixt mountains on the left, and a*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LIX. 1. *Inter sinistros montîs, et ab dextrâ rupe aspera*] i. e. *ab dextrâ* existente *rupe asperâ*, ' there being a craggy rock on the right.' [illegible]hors would have said, *inter sinistros montes, et ab dextrâ rupem* [illegible]'t is Sallust's way to couple clauses of different construction. [illegible]te 1.

te constituit; reliqua signa in subsidiis artiùs collocat. Ab his centuriones omnîs lectos, et evocatos, præterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium in dextrâ, Fæsulanum quemdam in sinistrâ parte curare jubet: ipse cum libertis et colonis propter aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in exercitu habuisse dicebatur. At ex alterâ parte C. Antonius, pedibus æger, quòd prælio adesse nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit. Ille cohortîs veteranas, quas tumulti caussà conscripserat, in fronte; post eas, cæterum exercitum in subsidiis locat. Ipse equo circumiens, unumquemque nominans, adpellat, hortatur, rogat, utì meminerint, se contra latrones inermos, pro patriâ, pro liberis; pro aris atque focis suis

*craggy rock on the right, he draws up eight battalions in front;* and *places the other companies more close for reserves. Out of these he removes all the choice centurions, and honorary veterans, as also all the best armed of the common soldiers, to the foremost rank. He orders C. Manlius to take charge in the right wing,* and *a certain Fæsulan in the left: he, with his freed men, and some old soldiers that had been settled in the possession of lands* by Sulla, *took up his stand hard by the eagle, which C. Marius was said to have had in his army in the Cimbric war. But on the other side C. Antonius, because he could not be present in the battle, being lame in his feet, gives the charge of his army to M. Petreius* his *Lieutenant-General. He posts the veteran cohorts, which he had raised on account of this insurrection, in the front;* and *behind them, the rest of the army for reserves. He himself riding about on horseback, naming each of them, exhorts, en-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Evocatos*] The *Evocati* were old soldiers, that had served out their legal time in the wars, and could not again be obliged to list; but were however sometimes prevailed upon by a General, whom they inclined to oblige, to attend him in his expedition.

3. *Optumum quemque armatum*] *Optumum* is here either an adverb, the same as *optime;* or it is put for *fortissimum*, and then these words signify, *all the most valiant that had arms.*

4. *Pedibus æger*] Dio xxxvii. p. 47, says, this was an *ultronea podagra*, counterfeited by Antony, because he was afraid of meeting with Catiline, lest he should have upbraided him before the army for deserting the conspirators, whom once he had engaged with.

5. *Tumulti caussâ*] *Tumultus* Romæ decernebatur, si ab Gallis, aut domesticis subitum periculum exortum esset.

cernere. Homo militaris, quòd ampliùs annos triginta tribunus, aut præfectus, aut legatus, aut prætor cum magnâ gloriâ fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia noverat; ea commemorando, militum animos accendebat.

*courages*, and *begs* of them, *to remember, they were to fight against unarmed robbers for their country, for their children; for their religion and properties. This man being an old soldier, for he had been with great reputation* either *tribune, or præfect, or lieutenant-general, or prætor, more than thirty years, knew most of the men and their gallant actions;* and by *recounting them, he fired the spirits of the soldiers.*

LX. Sed ubi, rebus omnibus exploratis, Petreius tubâ signum dat; cohortîs paullatìm incedere jubet. idem facit hostium exercitus. Postquam eò ventum, unde a ferentariis prælium committi posset, maxumo clamore,

LX. *Now after all things were narrowly inspected, Petreius gives the signal with a trumpet;* and *orders the battalions to advance gradually. the rebels' army does the same. After they came to that* nearness, *that the battle could be joined by the light-armed soldiers, they*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Tribunus*] The *triburi militum* were officers, of whom at first there were three in each legion: but were afterward increased to six. They were judges of controversies in the army, visited the watch, took care of the works of the camp; they had the honour of wearing a gold ring, in the same manner as the *equites*. Their office being esteemed very honourable, was much coveted; and therefore, to make way for the promotion of as many as possible, their command lasted but six months. See Jug. cap. xlv. note 2.

7. *Præfectus*] There were many kinds of *præfecti*; but when *Præfectus* is put simply by itself, as here, without a restrictive or explicatory word joined with it, then generally it denotes the *Præfectus auxiliarium cohortium atque sociorum*, which was a station much of the same honour and command among the auxiliaries and allies, as a tribune among the legionaries.

8. *Legatus*] The *Legati* were next to the General in power, and used to command, by his appointment, some part of the army in the day of battle, and the whole in the General's absence. There were several of them in an army, and the General commonly used them as his counsellors or advisers in all cases of importance or difficulty.

9. *Prætor*] See cap. xix. note 2.

LX. 1. *Ferentariis*] The *Ferentarii* were light armed soldiers, who before the institution of the *Velites*, used to begin the battle, with the *pila* and other missive weapons. They were so called, *quòd ea ferrent quæ in hostem jacerentur.*

cum infestis signis concurrunt; pila omittunt; gladiis res geritur. Veterani, pristinæ virtutis memores, comminùs acritèr instare; illi haud timidi resistunt. maxumâ vi certatur. Intereà, Catilina cum expeditis in primâ acie versari; laborantibus succurrere; integros pro sauciis arcessere; omnia providere; multùm ipse pugnare; sæpe hostem ferire. strenui militis, et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt Catilinam contrà, ac ratus erat, magnâ vi tendere; cohortem prætoriam in medios hostîs inducit, eos perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentes interficit: deindè utrìmque ex lateribus adgreditur. Manlius et Fæsulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. Postquam fusas copias, seque cum paucis relictum videt Catilina, memor generis atque pristinæ dignitatis, in confertissumos hostes incurrit,

*rush together with a mighty shout,* and *with displayed banners; the javelins they lay aside; the action is carried on with the sword. The veterans, mindful of their wonted bravery, press on hotly in close fight; they undaunted resist. the contest is maintained with the greatest keenness. In the mean time, Catiline with the light armed was employed in the first line; he relieved those that were hard put to it: called up fresh men in room of the wounded; provided for every thing; fought himself a great deal; often charged the enemy. performed at once the duties of a valiant soldier, and an excellent commander. Petreius, when he sees Catiline pushing forward with great violence, contrary to what he expected; leads up the prætorian cohort against the main body of the rebels, cut them to pieces after they were disordered, and were making resistance here and there in scattered parties: after this he attacks them in the flanks on both sides. Manlius and the Fæsulan fall fighting among the first. After Catiline sees his*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Cum infestis signis*] *Signa infesta* sunt, in hostem versa, ut solent pugnantes: contra, *versa signa* sunt fugientium.

3. *Cohortem prætoriam*] A General was anciently called *Prætor;* and hence the battalion or company who attended the General as his guard, was called *Prætoria cohors,* and was made up of the stoutest fellows in the army.

4. *In primis pugnantes cadunt*] Illud *in primis* non tam ad locum, ubi pugnaverint, quàm ad tempus et ordinem, quo occubuerint, pertinet.

ibique pugnans confoditur.

*forces routed, and himself left with a few, mindful of his high descent and former grandeur, he rushes in among the thickest of the enemy, and there fighting is run through.*

LXI. Sed confecto prælio, tum vero cerneres, quanta audacia, quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu Catilinæ. Nam ferê quem quisque pugnando locum ceperat, eum, amissâ animâ, corpore tegebat. Pauci autem, quos cohors prætoria disjecerat, paullò diversiùs, sed omnes tamen adversis volneribus conciderant. Catilina verò longe a suis, inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paullulùm etiam spirans, ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in voltu retinens. Postremò, ex omni copiâ, neque in prælio, neque in fugâ quisquam civis ingenuus captus. Ità cuncti suæ hostiumque vitæ juxtà pepercerant. Neque tamen exercitus populi Romani lætam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus. nam strenuissumus quisque aut occiderat in prælio, aut gravitèr vulneratus discesserat. Multi autem, qui de castris visundi aut spoliandi gratiâ processerant, volventes hostilia ca-

LXI. *But the battle being ended, then indeed you might have perceived, how great resolution, and what a mighty stock of courage had been in Catiline's army. For generally every one, after losing his life, covered with his body that spot, which he had taken possession of in the action. But a few, whom the prætorian cohort broke, had fallen a little more scatteredly, but yet all with wounds before. But Catiline was found far from his own men, among the dead bodies of his enemies, as yet breathing a little, and retaining in his countenance the fierceness of spirit which he had when alive. Finally, of all his army, not one free-born citizen was taken in the battle, nor in the flight. So much had they all spared their own life and that of their enemy alike. Nor yet did the army of the Roman people obtain a joyful victory, or without blood. for all the bravest* among them *either fell in battle, or came off grievously wounded. And many, who had gone out of the camp, with a design to see or plunder* the slain, *turning over the dead bodies of the enemies, some found a friend,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXI. 1. *Adversis volneribus*] See Jug. cap. lxxxv. note 5.

davera, amicum alii, pars, hospitem, aut cognatum reperiebant. Fuere item, qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. Ita variè per omnem exercitum lætitia, mœror, luctus atque gaudia agitabantur.

*others a guest or relation. there were likewise* some, *who knew their enemies. Thus joy, sorrow, grief and gladness, were diffused variously through the whole army.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Pars hospitem*] In the early ages of the world, and even in the time of the Roman commonwealth, there being no public inns, persons that travelled lodged in private houses, and returned the favour, when need required, to those that entertained them. This was frequently the occasion of a very intimate friendship betwixt the parties, insomuch that they esteemed and treated one another as relations. Hence the word *hospes* comes to signify, not only a lodger or guest, but an intimate friend or acquaintance; and the word *hospitium*, not only lodging or entertainment, but friendship founded upon that bottom, and was reckoned one of the most sacred and inviolable ties betwixt man and man.

CAII CRISPI SALLUSTII

# BELLUM JUGURTHINUM.

I. FALSO queritur de naturâ suâ genus humanum, quòd imbecilla atque ævi brevis, forte potiùs, quàm virtute regatur. Nam contrà, reputando, neque majus aliud, neque præstabilius inveniás, magisque naturæ industriam hominum, quàm vim, aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitæ mortalium animus est: qui, ubi ad gloriam virtutis viâ grassatur, abundè pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortunæ eget: quippe probitatem, industriam, alias artîs bonas neque dare, neque eripere potest. Sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et voluptates corporis pessum datus est: perniciosâ lubidine paullispèr usus; ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturæ infirmitas accusatur: suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quôd si

I. *MANKIND complain of their nature unjustly, that, being frail and of short duration, it is governed rather by chance than virtue. For on the contrary, upon reflection, you will find neither any thing greater, nor more excellent, and that men's application is wanting to nature, more than ability or time. Now the soul is the leader and commander of the life of men: which, when it aspires after glory thro' the paths of virtue, is abundantly prevalent, powerful, and glorious, nor stands in need of* the aids of *fortune: for she can neither give nor take away probity, industry,* and *other good qualities. But if* the soul, *enslaved to vicious appetites, is plunged into sloth and the pleasures of the body: after indulging for a while this pernicious humour; when vigour, time,* and *parts are wasted through indolence, the weakness of nature is taxed: the persons concerned throw the blame due to themselves, each upon* the nature of

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

I. 1. *Pessum datus est*] Some take *pessum* to be an adverb derived from *pes*, signifying *sub pedibus*, or *under foot;* but Cortius will have it to be the supine of the old verb *petior*. His words are *Male* pessum *pro adverbio habent; non multò meliùs pro nomine*, fundum *denotante: cùm sit supinum ab antiquo verbo* petior, i. e. *subigor, pedibus calcor*. Dicitur ut *venum, victum, postum dare*, et similia.

hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multùmque etiam periculosa petunt; neque regerentur magìs, quàm regerent casus; et eò magnitudinis procederent, ubi pro mortalibus gloriâ æterni fierent.

*their work. But if men's concern for worthy designs were as great, as the keenness with which they pursue things foreign* to them, *and that will profit nothing, and* are *even very dangerous; they would not more be subject to, than themselves govern fortune; and to that grandeur they should arrive, that instead of mortals they should become immortal in glory.*

II. Nam utì genus hominum compositum ex animâ et corpore; ità res cunctæ studiaque omnia nostra corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur præclara facies, magnæ divitiæ, ad hoc vis corporis, alia hujuscemodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora, sicuti anima, immortalia sunt. Postremò, corporis et fortunæ bonorum, ut initium, finis est: omnia orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt; animus incorruptus, æternus, rector humani generis, agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quò magìs pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui, dediti corporis gaudiis, per luxum atque ignaviam ætatem agunt:

II. *For as the nature of men* is *made up of soul and body; so all* our *concerns and all our pursuits partake of the nature, some of the body, others of the mind. Thus a fine face, great wealth, as also strength of body,* and *other things of this kind, fade away in a little time; but the noble productions of the mind are immortal, as the soul. Finally, there is an end of the goods of the body and fortune, as well as a beginning: all things that rise, set; and things that grow, decay; the soul is incorruptible, eternal, the governor of mankind, manages and is master of every thing, nor is itself under the power of any. On which account, the perverseness of those is the more to be wondered at, who, devoted to the pleasures of the body, spend their life in luxury and idleness: but suffer*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Ubi pro mortalibus*] *Ubi* is here Englished by *that,* for want of a more proper word: for as there is here a reference to *eò magnitudinis, ubi* must signify, *in quâ magnitudine.*

II. *Agit atque habet cuncta*] *Agit* est regit, disponit omnia ex suo arbitrio. *Habet* est possidet, habet in potestate. Ovid Metamorph. i. ver. 197.

*Cùm mihi, qui fulmen, qui vos* habeoque *regoque,*
*Struxerit insidias.*

cæterùm ingenium, quo neque melius, neque amplius aliud in naturâ mortalium est, incultu atque socordiâ torpescere sinunt: cùm præsertìm tam multæ variæque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

*the soul, than which there is not any thing better, nor more noble in the human nature, to waste away through want of improvement, and sloth: especially since there are so many and various employments of the mind, whereby the greatest honour is acquired.*

III. Verùm ex his magistratus et imperia, postremò omnis cura rerum publicarum, minumè mihi hâc tempestate cupiunda videntur: quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem jus fuit, tuti, aut eò magìs honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam, aut parentes, quamquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est: cùm præsertìm omnes rerum mutationes cædem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant; frustra autem niti, neque aliud fatigando, nisi odium, quærere, extremæ dementiæ est. nisi fortè quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet, potentiæ paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

III. *But of these offices, civil and military, in short, all concern in public affairs, appear to me at this time not at all desirable: seeing preferment is neither conferred on merit; nor are they, who have* obtained *authority by unfair methods, safe, or the more honourable for it. For indeed to govern your country, or the lieges by violence, tho' you both should have it in your power, and should rectify disorders, is however a troublesome task: especially since every alteration in* state *affairs forebodes bloodshed, banishment, and other hostilities; and to struggle in vain, and not to get any thing by drudging, but ill-will, is the greatest madness. unless perhaps a base and pernicious humour possess some one, to sacrifice his honour and liberty to the power of a few.*

IV. Cæterùm ex aliis negotiis, quæ ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum: cujus de virtute, quia multi dixere, præter-

IV. *But among other things, which are the work of the mind, the history of past transactions is in a special manner of great advantage:* a dissertation *concerning the excellency of which,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

III. *Aut parentes*] Intellige *qui parent, obediunt.* i. e. quos vulgo *subditos* vocant.

cundum puto; simul, ne per insolentiam quis existumet, memet, studium laudando, extollere. Atque ego credo fore, qui, quia decrevi procul a republicâ ætatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiæ imponant: certè, quibus maxuma industria videtur, salutare plebem, et conviviis gratiam quærere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sum, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint; profectò existumabunt, me magis merito, quàm ignavia, judicium animi mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo, quám ex aliorum negotiis reipublicæ venturum. Nam sæpe audivi, Q. Maxumum, P. Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros, solitos ita dicere, CUM MAJORUM IMAGINES INTUERENTUR,

*I think, should be omitted* here, *because many have spoke to it; as also, lest any should imagine that, out of vanity, I magnify myself, by commending my employment. And I believe there will be* some, *who may give the name of indolence to* this *so great and so profitable a work of mine, because I have resolved to spend my time at a distance from state affairs:* they, *to be sure, to whom it seems the greatest industry, to caress the people, and court their favour by feasts. Who, if they would consider, both in what times I obtained my posts in the government, and what considerable men were unable to compass the same, and what set of men came into the senate afterward; surely will think, that I altered the sentiments of my mind more for good reason, than out of indolence; and that greater advantage will redound to the public from my retirement, than from the business of* some *others. For I have often heard, that Q. Maxumus, P. Scipio, and other famous men of our commonwealth used to say,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

IV. 1. *Magistratus adeptus sum*] Sallust, when a young man, had been *Quæstor;* and in the year of Rome 702, when public affairs were in such disorder, that Rome had been eight months without any magistrate, and Pompey had been made Consul without a colleague, he was elected *Tribune* of the commons. When the civil wars broke out, he sided with Cæsar, and was by him made *Quæstor* a second time, and afterward *Prætor.* He attended Cæsar in his expedition into Africa, where he acquired the wealth which he afterward laid out upon the famous gardens called from his name *Horti Sallustiani.*

2. *Majorum imagines*] It was a privilege and honour peculiar to the nobility, or such as had bore *curule* offices, to be allowed to erect statues for

VEHEMENTISSUME SIBI ANIMUM AD VIRTUTEM ACCENDI. Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque priùs sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. At contrà, quis est omnium, his moribus, quin divitiis et sumtibus, non probitate neque industriâ cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui anteà per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtìm et per latrocinia potiùs [quàm bonis artibus] ad imperia et honores nituntur. proinde quasi prætura et consulatus, atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara, magnifica sint; ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui sustinent, virtus est. Verùm ego liberiùs altiùsque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget tædetque. nunc ad inceptum redeo.

that their spirit was most ardently fired to virtue, when they beheld the statues of their ancestors. *Not, to be sure, that the wax, or its figure, had such efficacy in them; but that this flame was raised in the breasts of* those *excellent persons by the memory of noble actions, nor was quenched, before their gallant behaviour equalled the reputation and glory of theirs. But, on the other hand, who is there of us all, according to the manners of this age, that vies not with his forefathers in riches and prodigality, not in virtue nor industry? nay, upstart gentlemen, who formerly by their heroic conduct were wont to outstrip the nobility, make their way to posts and preferments more by underhand tricks, and by rogueries [than honourable methods], as if the prætorship and consulship, and all other* offices *of this kind, were glorious* and *honourable in themselves; and not to be accounted of, just as the behaviour of those is, who possess them. But I have launched too freely and too far, whilst I am vexed and chagrined at the manners of my country. now I come to my purpose.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

themselves. These statues were set up in the *area* or entrance to their houses, and were kept with great care by their posterity. A nobleman valued himself upon having a great number of them, as being an argument of the antiquity of his family; and such a person is, in cap. lxxxv. called *Homo multarum imaginum.*

3. *His moribus*] i. e. moribus hujus temporis. Thus, Cat. cap. li. *Atque ego hæc non in M. Tullio, neque* his temporibus *vereor.* Cap. lviii. *Quia illa fœda atque intoleranda viris videbantur,* hæc *sequi decrevistis.*

4. *Ad inceptum redeo*] *Compound* verbs are frequently used much in the

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurthâ, Rege Numidarum, gessit: primùm, quia magnum et atrox, variâque victoriâ fuit; dein, quia tùm primùm superbiæ nobilitatis obviàm itum est. quæ contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eòque vecordiæ processit, utì studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiæ finem faceret. Sed priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca suprà repetam; quò ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magìs, magìsque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthagniensium Hannibal, post magnitudinem nominis Romani, Italiæ opes maxumè adtriverat; Masinissa, Rex Numidarum, in amicitiâ receptus a P. Scipione, cui posteà Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et præclara rei militaris facinora fecerat: ob quæ, victis Carthaginien-

V. *I am about to write* a history of *the war, which the Roman people waged with Jugurtha, King of the Numidians: first, because it was great and terrible, and the success various;* and *next, because then for the first time a check was given to the insolence of the nobility. which dispute confounded all things divine and human, and was carried to that height of madness, that* nothing less than *war and the desolation of Italy put an end to those domestic animosities. But before I enter on this subject, I shall premise a few things previous to it: that all may be the more clear, and in a better light for being understood. In the second Punic war, wherein Hannibal, general of the Carthaginians, had wasted the strength of Italy,* *most* of any *since the grandeur of the Roman state; Masinissa, King of the Numidians, being received into an alliance by P. Scipio, who afterward had the sirname of Africanus* given him *on account of his merit, performed many and glorious military exploits; for*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

same sense as their *simples*; and *redeo* must be taken so here, since our author cannot be said to return to that, which, properly speaking, he had not yet begun.

V. 1. *Variâque victoriâ fuit*] *Varia* dicitur, quæ apud Jugurtham modò, modò apud Romanos fuit.

2. *Post magnitudinem nominis Romani*] Since the Romans came to be great, and make a figure in the world: for during their infant state, they had met with as great, nay greater calamities; particularly from the Gauls, who burnt Rome.

sibus, et capto Syphace, cujus in Africâ magnum atque latè imperium valuit, populus Romanus quas-

*which, after the Carthaginians were conquered, and Syphax taken, whose dominion in Africa was great and of large extent,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Capto Syphace, &c.*] Syphax and Masinissa were both kings in Numidia, but reigned in different parts of it. The subjects of Syphax were called *Masæsuli,* and their capital was Cirta. Those of Masinissa were the *Massyli.* But both these nations are better known by the name of *Numidians,* which was common to them. Their principal strength consisted in their cavalry; they always rode without saddles, and some even without bridles; and hence Virgil, Æn. iv. ver. 41. calls them *Numidæ Infræni.* Syphax, in the beginning of the second Punic war, sided with the Romans; but afterward, upon marrying the famous Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal the Carthaginian, he changed sides, and joined the Carthaginians. Gala, the father of Masinissa, had, some years before this, entered into a war against Syphax; the consequence of which was, that Masinissa, after his father's death, which happened soon after the commencement of the war, was reduced to the brink of ruin, being several times driven from his kingdom, destitute of forces, money, and almost all things else. However, during the course of this war, wherein he had been obliged to fly from province to province, he went over to Spain, where he had an interview with Scipio, afterward called *Africanus,* and declared for the Romans. To this honourable alliance he ever after adhered with the utmost zeal and constancy. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Masinissa joined him with a few horse; his misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that General. Soon after this, a great battle was fought, wherein Syphax was defeated, taken prisoner by Lælius and Masinissa, brought in chains to Scipio, carried afterward to Rome, made to adorn the triumph, and was then clapt in prison, and starved to death for want of food, as a just reward of his treachery. Masinissa, the victor, besieged Cirta his capital, and took it: but he met with a greater danger in that city than he had faced in the field; and this was Sophonisba, whose charms he was unable to resist; and therefore forthwith married her; but, a few days after, was obliged to send her a dose of poison as her nuptial present, this being the only way left him to keep his promise with his queen, *viz.* not to deliver her up to the Romans, and to satisfy Scipio, who was highly displeased with the marriage. Sophonisba swallowed the deadly dose, and expired. After the second Punic war, Masinissa was favoured until his death with an uninterrupted series of prosperity. Scipio, as a reward of his good services, not only restored him his own kingdom, but added to it, during his life, that of Syphax his enemy; so that he became the most powerful prince in all Africa, his dominions extending from Mauritania as far as Cyrene. He was blessed with the greatest health and vigour of constitution, and lived to upwards of ninety years of age. He died about a year before the destruction of Carthage: and much about the same time died at Rome, Cato the renowned moralist. See the life of this prince more at large in Rollin's history of the Carthaginians.

cumque urbîs et agros manu ceperat, Regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissæ bona atque honesta nobis permansit: imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa filius regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussâ fratribus morbo absumtis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit; Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quòd ortus ex concubinâ erat, privatum reliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

*the Roman people made a present to the King of whatever cities and territories they had taken by force. Wherefore Masinissa's friendship continued faithful and sincere to us; the end of his sovereignty and his life was the same. Afterward Micipsa his son got the kingdom alone, his brother Mastanabal and Gulussa having been taken off by a distemper. He begat of his own body Adherbal and Hiempsal; and brought up in his house, under the same education as his own children, Jugurtha, his brother Manastabal's son, whom Masinissa had left* in the condition of *a private person, because he was born of a concubine.*

VI. Qui, ubi primùm adolevit, pollens viribus, decorâ facie, sed multò maxumè ingenio validus,

VI. *Who, as soon as he was grown up, being eminent for strength* of body, *of a beautiful complexion, but most of all con-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Imperii vitæque ejus finis idem fuit*] Some have taken these words to import only, that Masinissa continued to be King of Numidia till his death: but this sense is trifling. The true meaning is, that the grant of the dominions made to him by the Romans was only during his own life, and did not descend to his son. Accordingly we find that Micipsa had only that part of Numidia which anciently belonged to his father; but Cirta, and the other parts of Numidia, which had been taken from Syphax, were, upon the death of Masinissa, reduced by the Romans into the form of a province.

5. *Micipsa filius*] Masinissa had 44 sons, or, as some say, 54, of whom three only were legitimate. His family, as far as taken notice of by Sallust, may be thus represented.

The sons of Masinissa were,

By his Queen, — By a concubine,

1. Micipsa. — 2 Gulussa. — 3. Mastanabal. — Massugrada.

Adherbal, Hiempsal. — Massiva. c. xxxv. — Jugurtha, Gauda. c. lxv. — Dabar. c cviii.

non se luxu, neque inertiæ corrumpendum dedit; sed, utì mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum æqualibus certare: et cùm omnîs gloriâ anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus, aut in primis ferire: plurimùm facere, minumùm ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus, Micipsa tametsi initio lætus fuerat, existumans virtutem Jugurthæ regno suo gloriæ fore: tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exactâ suâ ætate, parvis liberis, magìs magìsque crescere intellegit; vehementèr negotio permotus, multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terebat natura mortalium, avida imperii, et præceps ad explendam animi cupidinem: præthereà, opportunitas suæque et liberorum ætatis, quæ etiam mediocrîs viros spe prædæ transvorsos agit: ad hoc

*siderable for his intellectual abilities, neither gave up himself to be debauched by luxury, nor idleness; but as the manner of that nation is, exercised himself in riding, throwing the dart,* and *contending with his comrades at running: and though he outstripped them all for reputation, yet was dear to all: besides, he spent most of his time in hunting,* was *the first, or among the foremost to encounter the lion, and other wild beasts: he did most,* and *spoke least of himself. With which things, though at first Micipsa was well pleased, reckoning that Jugurtha's great abilities would be an honour to his kingdom: yet, after he found the young man to turn more and more considerable, his own life far spent, his children small; being much affected with the matter, he pondered many things in his own mind. The nature of man, greedy of power, and forward to gratify the ambition of his heart, alarmed* him: *moreover the opportunity* laid in his way, by reason *both of his own age and that of his children, which leads*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

VII. *Non se luxu neque inertiæ*] *Luxu* here may be either esteemed the dative of the fourth declension, whose termination was *u* among the ancients; or it may be considered as an ablative, and then there will be a diversity of construction: but this is Sallust's manner, Cat. cap. xxv. *Docta* litteris, multa alia. Cap. xxxiii. *Plerique* patriæ, *sed omnes* famâ *atque* fortunis *expertes*. Jug. cap. lxxxiv. *Plerosque* militiæ, *paucos* famâ *cognitos accire*.

2. *Transvorsos agit*] *Transvorsum agere*, is to turn one out of his road to the right or left; and *navis transvorsa agitur* is properly said, when a ship is forced or driven out of her course, not by contrary, but by side winds.

studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum interfecisset, ne qua seditio, aut bellum oriretur, anxius erat.

*even moderate men astray in hopes of gain: and farther the affections of the Numidians* which were *warm for Jugurtha; from whom, if he should cut off such a man, he was afraid lest an insurrection or war might arise.*

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus, ubi videt, neque per vim, neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quòd erat Jugurtha manu promtus, et adpetens gloriæ militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis, et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur, bello Numantino, Micipsa cùm populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans, vel ostentando virtutem, vel hostium sævitiâ facilè occasurum, præfecit Numidis, quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longè alitèr ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis Imperator, et morem hostium cognovit; multo labore multâque curâ, præthereà modestissumè parendo, et sæpe obviàm eundo periculis, in tantam clari-

VII. *Embarrassed with these difficulties, when he sees, that a man so acceptable to the people could be taken off neither by open force, nor secret contrivance, he resolves to expose him to dangers, and try fortune in that shape, because Jugurtha was forward in action, and vastly fond of military glory. Wherefore, in the Numantine war, Micipsa, since he was to send auxiliaries of horse and foot to the Roman people, set him over the Numidians, whom he sent into Spain, expecting he would certainly fall, either in making a show of his bravery, or by the fury of the enemy. But that matter fell out quite otherwise than he imagined. For Jugurtha, as he was of an enterprising and penetrating genius, after he had dived into P. Scipio's temper, who at that time was General to the Romans, and the manner of the enemy; by much pains and much diligence, as also by obeying* orders *most submissively, and often exposing himself to dangers,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

VII. *Bello Numantino*] *Numantia* was a small town in Spain, whose inhabitants made a desperate stand, for fourteen years together, against forty thousand Romans, till at length they were conquered by the Scipio here mentioned. See the history of this war in Flor. ii. cap. xvii. and xviii.

tudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. Ac sanè, quod difficillumum in primis est, et prælio strenuus erat, et bonus consilio: quorum alterum, ex providentiâ, timorem; alterum, ex audaciâ, temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnîs ferè res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magìs magìsque in dies amplecti: quippe cujus neque consilium, neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi et ingenii solertia; quîs rebus, sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitiâ conjunxerat.

VIII. Eâ tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiæ bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi, domi potentes, apud socios clari magìs quàm honesti; qui Jugurthæ non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, SI MICIPSA REX OCCIDISSET, FORE, UTI SOLUS IMPERII NUMIDIÆ POTIRETUR: IN IPSO MAXUMAM VIRTUTEM, ROMÆ OMNIA VENALIA ESSE. Sed postquam, Numantiâ deletâ, P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse re-

*came in a short time to so great reputation, that he was exceedingly beloved by our men,* and *a very great terror to the Numantines. And indeed, which is singularly difficult, he was both valiant in battle, and wise in counsel: one of which* qualities, *from foresight* of danger, *generally uses to produce fear; the other, from confidence, rashness. Wherefore the General executed almost all desperate projects by Jugurtha, reckoned him amongst his friends,* and *caressed him more and more from day to day: forasmuch as neither his advice, nor any of his undertakings was without success. To these were added a generosity of spirit, and dexterity of wit; by which qualities, he attached many of the Romans to himself in an intimate friendship.*

VIII. *There were at that time in our army a great many both of low and high birth, to whom riches were more precious than virtue and honour,* mighty *party men, of great interest in their own countries, men of figure rather than of fair reputation amongst our allies: who inflamed the ambitious soul of Jugurtha, by often assuring him with offers of their service,* that, if Micipsa the King were dead, it would come to pass, that he alone might become sovereign of the kingdom of Numidia: that in himself there was the highest merit, *and* that all things were

vorti domum decrevit; donatum atque laudatum magnificè pro concione Jugurtham in prætorium abduxit; ibique secretò monuit, 'utì potiùs publicè quàm privatìm, amicitiam populi Romani coleret; neu quibus largiri insuesceret; periculosè a paucis emi, quod multorum esset, si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultrò illi et gloriam, et regnum venturum: sin properantiùs pergeret, suâmet ipsum pecuniâ præcipitem casurum.'

to be sold at Rome. *But when, upon the reduction of Numantia, P. Scipio had determined to dismiss the auxiliary troops,* and *return home himself; he brought Jugurtha into his own tent, after he had loaded him with presents and applauses in a pompous manner before the army; and there privately advised him, 'to court the friendship of the Roman people in a public rather than private way: not to make a practice of offering bribes to any;* since *that was purchased with danger from a few, which belonged to many. that if he would continue in his virtuous practiees, both glory and a kingdom would drop in upon him of their own accord: but if he drove on too hastily, he with his money would fall headlong* into ruin.'

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris, quas Micipsæ redderet, dimisit: earum sententia hæc erat. 'Jugurthæ tui bello Numantino longè maxuma virtus fuit: quam rem tibi certò scio gaudio esse. nobis ob merita carus est: utì idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summâ ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostrâ amicitiâ gratulor: en habes virum dignum te

IX. *Having spoke thus, he dismissed him with a letter, which he was to deliver to Micipsa: the purport of it was this. 'In the Numantine war your Jugurtha's bravery was incomparably great; which thing I know certainly will give you joy. he is dear to us for his good services: we shall endeavour with the utmost care, that he be the same to the senate and people of Rome. In regard to our friendship, I heartily congratu-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

VIII. *Publicè quàm privatìm*] Jugurtha is here advised to court the favour of the Romans *publicè, i. e.* of the whole commonwealth by public and meritorious actions; *potiùs quàm privatìm, i. e.* rather than make application to a few leading men, and bribe them over to his interest, in hopes of raising and aggrandizing himself through means of their influence at Rome, and in the senate.

atque avo suo Masinissa.' Igitur Rex, ubi, quæ famâ acceperat, ex litteris Imperatoris ita esse cognovit, cùm virtute viri, tùm gratiâ permotus, flexit animum suum, et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est; statìmque adoptavit, et testamento paritèr cum filiis hæredem instituit. Sed ipse, paucos post annos, morbo atque ætate confectus, cùm sibi finem vitæ adesse intellegeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurthâ habuisse.

*late you* upon this occasion: *lo* herewith *you receive a man, worthy of you, and his grandfather Masinissa.' Wherefore the King, when, by the General's letter he found to be true what he had heard by common report, moved as well by the fine accomplishments of the man, as his interest* with the Romans, *altered his resolution, and attempted to conquer Jugurtha by kindness; and forthwith adopted him, and by a will made him joint heir with his sons. But he, a few years after, being worn out with infirmities and age, when he perceived the end of his life to be at hand, is said, in the presence of his friends and relations, as also of Adherbal and Hiempsal his sons, to have addressed himself to Jugurtha in words to this purpose.*

X. 'Parvum ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus, in meum regnum accepi; existumans non minùs me tibi, quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res falsum habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissumè rediens Numantiâ meque regnumque meum gloriâ honoravisti: tuâ virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissumos fecisti: in His-

X. 'My dear *Jugurtha, I received you into my court, after you lost your father, when but a little child, without hopes,* and *without fortune; reckoning that I would be no less dear to you, on account of my kindness, than to my children, if I should have any: nor has that matter deceived me. For, to say nothing of other great and noble actions of yours, returning very lately from Numantia, you did honour both to me and my kingdom by your glorious conduct: of friends you have made the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

X. 1. *Neque ea res falsum habuit*] *Falsum habere, infestum habere, frustra habere*, &c. are circumstances, or phrases, of the same import as *fallere, infestare, frustrare*, &c.

paniâ nomen familiæ renovatum: postremò, quod difficillumum inter mortalîs, gloriâ invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitæ finem facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque, utì hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas: neu malis alienos adjungere, quàm sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus, neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt, verùm amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque áuro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quàm frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordiâ parvæ res crescunt, discordiâ maxumæ dilabuntur. Cæterùm an-

*Romans the greatest of friends to us by your excellent behaviour: in Spain the name of our family is revived: finally, which is the most difficult thing in the world, you overcome envy by your glory. Now, since nature is putting a period to my life, I intreat and conjure you, by this right hand,* and *by the honour of a king, that you dearly love these* my sons, *who are your relations by birth,* and *brothers by my generosity: and that you do not rather choose to make strangers your friends, than keep those already united* to you *by blood. Neither armies nor treasures are the security of a kingdom, but friends, whom you can neither force by arms, nor purchase with gold; they are procured by acts of kindness and fidelity. And who should be more friendly, than brother to brother? or what stranger will you find faithful, if you be an enemy to your own* relations? *I deliver up to you a kingdom, strong indeed, if you will be good;* but

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Nomen familiæ renovatum*] Nomen quod comparaverat sibi Masinissa.

3. *Per regni fidem*] Literally is, *by the honour of royalty, i. e.* by the honour which a king ought to have. Cortius comments on it thus *per fidem, quam in regnum acceptus debes.*

4. *Concordiâ parvæ res crescunt,* &c.] The conduct of Scilurus is an excellent commentary upon this. He had 24 sons, or as some say, 80, and, on his death bed, in their presence, called for a sheaf of arrows of the same number, and desired each of them to try to break them; which when none of them could do, he took them one by one, and broke them all to pieces before them; designing thereby to teach them, that unanimity would be their strength and security; and that by division they would be weakened, and rendered an easy prey to enemies.

te hos, te, Jugurtha, qui ætate et sapientiâ prior es, ne alitèr quid eveniat, providere decet. Nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiam si accipit injuriam, quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumsisse videar, quàm genuisse.'

*weak, if* you shall be *wicked. For small states grow great by unanimity, the greatest dwindle to nothing by contention. But before them, Jugurtha, it becomes you, who are superior in age and prudence, to take care lest any thing happen otherwise* than I have recommended. *For in all contests,* he *who is the more potent* party, *though he receive the wrong,* yet *seems to do it, because he is the more powerful. And you, Adherbal and Hiempsal, love* and *regard such a man as this, imitate his virtue, and labour earnestly, that I may not seem to have adopted better children than I have begotten.*'

XI. Ad ea, Jugurtha, tametsi Regem ficta locutum intellegebat, et ipse longè alitèr animo agitabat; tamen pro tempore benignè respondit. Micipsa paucis diebus moritur. Postquam illi, more regio, justa magnificè fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis, naturâ ferox, etiam antea ignobilitatem Jugurthæ [quia materno genere impar erat] despiciens, dextrâ Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti ætati concederet, fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram trans-

XI. *To this, Jugurtha, tho' he was sensible the King spoke insincerely, and he himself intended far otherwise in his mind; replied however in a complaisant manner suitable to the occasion. Within a few days Micipsa dies. After they had magnificently performed the funeral solemnity, in a way proper for a king, the petty princes met together, in order to confer among themselves about* the settlement of *all their affairs. But Hiempsal, who was the youngest of them, by nature high-spirited,* and *despising even before this time Jugurtha's mean extraction, [because by the mother's side he was his inferior,] seated himself close by Adherbal on the right hand; that Jugurtha might not be the middlemost of the three, which is reckoned* the place of *honour amongst the Numidians. Yet af-*

ductus est. Ibi cùm multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha, inter alias res, jacit: OPORTERE QUINQUENNII CONSULTA OMNIA ET DECRETA RESCINDI. NAM, PER EA TEMPORA, CONFECTUM ANNIS, MICIPSAM PARUM ANIMO VALUISSE. Tum idem Hiempsal, PLACERE SIBI, respondit: NAM IPSUM ILLUM, TRIBUS IIIS PROXUMIS (ANNIS), ADOPTATIONE IN REGNUM PERVENISSE. Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthæ altiùs, quàm quisquam ratus, descendit. Itaqué, ex eo tempore, irâ et metu anxius, moliri, parare, atque ea modò animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quæ ubi tardiùs procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

*terwards, being importuned by his brother to give place to age, he was removed with some difficulty to the other side. When in that place they had discoursed of many things concerning the administration of the government, Jugurtha, amongst other things, proposes:* That all the statutes and decrees of the five years *foregoing* must needs be repealed, for that Micipsa, during that time, being spent with age, was not sound in his judgment. *Upon that Hiempsal replied,* that the same *proposal* pleased him: for that he himself, within the three last (years), had come to the kingdom by adoption. *Which saying sunk deeper into the mind of Jugurtha, than any one imagined. Wherefore, from that time, racked with resentment and fear, he plotted, contrived, and the only thing he had in his thoughts was the ways, whereby Hiempsal might be trepanned by stratagem. Which as they proceeded but slowly, and his enraged soul was not pacified, he resolves to execute his designs by any method.*

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum suprà memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat, dividi thesauros, finîsque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturiùs ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli intereà in loca propinqua thesauris alius aliò concessere: Sed

XII. *In the first meeting, which I said above was held by the princes, it had been resolved, on account of* their *differences, that the treasure should be divided, and limits of dominion assigned to each of them. Accordingly a time is appointed for both purposes, but first for dividing the money. The princes in the mean time retired, each to a different abode, into places*

Hiempsal in oppido Thirmidâ, fortè ejus domo utebatur, qui proxumus lictor Jugurthæ, carus acceptusque semper fuerat. quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat, utì tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum clavîs adulterinas paret: nam veræ ad Hiempsalem referebantur. cæterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magnâ manu venturum. Numida mandata brevì confecit: atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthæ milites introducit. Qui, postquam in ædîs irrupere, diversi regem quærere: dormientîs alios, alios occursantîs interficere; scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere; strepitu et tumultu omnia misere: cùm Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans sese tugurio mulieris ancillæ, quò initio

*near the treasury. But Hiempsal* taking up his residence *in the town of Thirmida, by chance lodged in the house of one, who had been prime serjeant to Jugurtha*, and *always beloved by him and in great favour, which instrument* of his design, *presented by fortune, he loads with promises, to go under pretence of visiting his house*, and *procure false keys to the gates: for the true ones were delivered up to Hiempsal. and further* told him, *that, when the affair was ripe, he himself would come with a considerable force. The Numidian quickly executed his orders: and, as he had been instructed, lets in Jugurtha's soldiers by night. Who, after they broke into the house, ran some one way, some another, in quest of the king: some they killed asleep*, and *others as they came in their way; searched the private apartments; broke open* the places that were *shut*, and *filled every part with noise*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XII. 1. *Proxumus lictor Jugurthæ*] The lictors were serjeants or officers, who attended the chief magistrate of Rome. The Consuls had twelve, the Prætors and Proconsuls six. The chief, prime, or principal one among them, did, on public occasions, walk in the procession last, or next to the magistrate, and was upon that account called *proxumus lictor*. But whether lictors were anciently used in Numidia, or Jugurtha had introduced this fashion in imitation of the Romans, after his return from Numantia; or whether our author only accommodates the Latin word to some principal servant of Jugurtha, though in most respects very different from a Roman lictor, cannot be easily determined; but certain it is, that the Roman writers, when speaking of other nations, often apply their own terms to things that do no more than faintly resemble the things signified by these terms amongst the Romans.

2. *Mulieris ancillæ*] The ancients used *ancillus* and *ancilla* just as later writers do *famulus* and *famula;* and *mulier ancilla* is the same as

pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidæ caput ejus, utì jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt. *had fled for shelter, being in a fright, and not acquainted with the place. The Numidians, as they had been ordered, carry his head to Jugurtha.*

*and confusion: whilst, in the mean time, Hiempsal is found hiding himself in the hut of a servant-maid, whither at first he*

XIII. Cæterùm fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevì divulgatur: Adherbalem, omnîsque qui sub imperio Micipsæ fuerant, metus invadit. in duas partes discedunt: plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quàm maxumas potest copias armat; urbîs partìm vi, alias voluntate, imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidiæ imperare parat. Adherbal tamen etsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de cæde fratris, et fortunis suis; tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus, ex prælio profugit in provinciam, ac deinde Romam contendit. Tùm

XIII. *But the fame of so great a villainy soon spread over all Africa; consternation seizes Adherbal, and all who had been under the government of Miscipsa. they split into two parties: the greater number side with Adherbal, but the better skilled in war with the other. Wherefore Jugurtha arms as many forces as he can; annexes* several *cities to his dominions, some by force, others by their own choice:* and *aims at being master of all Numidia. Adherbal, though he had dispatched ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate of the murder of his brother, and of his own condition; yet, depending on the number of his soldiers, resolved to dispute it by arms. But when the matter came to an engagement, being routed, he made his escape out of the battle to the* Roman *province, and afterward*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

*mulier ancillans* or *famulans.* Expressions of the like nature we have, Cat. cap. xxxi. *Patricius homo.* Cap. xxxviii. *Homines adolescentes.* Cor. Nep. *Ventus aquilo.* Ter. *Mulier meretrix.* Cic. *Homo gladiator.* Mart. *Fama anus.*

XIII. 1. *Partìm vi, alias voluntate*] Latini elegantèr etiam diversa, quæ vocant, subjecta eodem casu efferunt. *Vi* nempè suâ: *voluntate* eorum, quos oppugnatum venerat.

2. *In provinciam*] All that part of Africa which formerly belonged to the Carthaginians, being now in the possession of the Romans, went under the name of *Provincia,* and was governed by magistrates sent from Rome. See cap. xix.

Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum; neque advorsus iram ejus usquam, nisi in avaritiâ nobilitatis et pecuniâ suâ, spem habere. Itaque, paucis diebus, cum auro et argento multo Romam mittit, quîs præcepit, uti primum veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos adquirant: postremò, quæcumque possint largiundo parare, ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere, et, ex præcepto Regis, hospitibus aliisque, quorum eâ tempestate auctoritas pollebat, magna misere; tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxumâ invidiâ in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret. quorum pars spe, alii præmio inducti, singulos ex senatu ambiundo, nitebantur, ne graviùs in eum consuleretur. Igitur, legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

*went to Rome. Then Jugurtha, after having executed his design, reflecting at cool hours in his own mind upon his horrid crime, dreaded the Roman people: nor had he any hopes* of security *against their resentment, but in the avarice of the nobility and his money. Wherefore, within a few days he dispatches* ambassadors *to Rome, with great store of gold and silver, whom he ordered in the first place to glut his old friends with presents; and then procure new ones; in short, whatever they could effect by bribery, not to stick at. But after the ambassadors arrived at Rome, and, according to the king's instructions, had distributed large* presents *to their entertainers and others, whose influence was great at that time; such mighty change ensued, that Jugurtha, from under the greatest odium, came to the good graces and favour of the nobility, of whom some tempted by hopes, others by actual bribes, laboured strenuously, by using their interest with every single member of the senate, that nothing severe should be determined against him. Wherefore, as soon as the ambassadors thought all was made safe, on a day appointed, an audience in the senate was granted to both* parties. *On this occasion Adherbal, we are informed, spoke to the following effect.*

XIV. 'Patres conscripti: Micipsa pater meus moriens præcepit, utì regnum Numidiæ tantummodò procuratione existu-

XIV. '*Conscript Fathers: My father Micipsa at his death charged* me *to reckon the kingdom of Numidia mine in point of administration only; but the*

marem meum; cæterùm jus et imperium penes vos esse: simul eniterer, domi militiæque, quàm maxumo usui esse populo Romano. vos mihi cognatorum, vos in adfinium locum ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestrâ amicitiâ, exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni, habere. Quæ cùm [præcepta parentis mei] agitarem; Jugurtha, homo omnium, quos terra sustinet, sceleratissumus, contemto imperio vestro, Masinissæ me nepotem, et jam ab stirpe socium et amicum populo Romano, regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque ego, Patres conscripti, quoniàm eò miseriarum venturus eram, vellem, potiùs ob mea, quàm ob majorum beneficia posse auxilium petere: ac maxumè, deberi mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum ea, si desideranda erant, utì debitis uterer. Sed quoniàm parùm tuta per se ipsa probitas, neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret; ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrumum, cogor priùs oneri, quàm usui esse. Cæ-

*right and sovereignty to be in you: and withal to endeavour, both in peace and war, to be as serviceable as possible to the people of Rome. to regard you as my relations and kinsmen:* telling me, *if I did this, I should have forces,* and *riches, the bulwarks of a kingdom, in your friendship. Which [instructions of my father] whilst I was about to put in execution; Jugurtha, the vilest miscreant on earth, in contempt of your high authority, thrust me, the grandson of Masinissa, and by birth too an ally and friend of the Roman people, out of my kingdom and all my possessions. And I wish, venerable Fathers, since I was to be reduced to this pitch of misery, I could have implored* your *assistance for my own personal services, rather than for* those of *my progenitors; and above all, that debts* of kindness *had been due to me from the Roman people, which I might have had no occasion for:* but *next to this, if they were to be needed, that I might have used them as* favours *due to me. But since integrity by itself is not secure, and how Jugurtha might behave, was not at my command; I have fled* for protection, *my Lords, to you, to whom, which is most afflicting* to me, *I am obliged to be a burden, before I*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XIV. 1. *Neque mihi in manu fuit*] In potestate non fuit, h. e. per me non stetit, qualis Jugurtha esset; non potui illum ad observationem justi et æqui vi adigere.

teri reges, aut bello victi, in amicitiam a vobis recepti, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram adpetiverunt. familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit: quo tempore magìs fides ejus, quàm fortuna, petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussæ haberem, præter miserandam fortunam; quòd paullò antè Rex, genere, famâ, atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus ærumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto: tamen erat majestatis Romani populi, prohibere injuriam, neque cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret. Verùm ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit: unde pater et avus unà vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia erepta sunt, Patres conscripti: vos in meâ injuriâ despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, utì quem tu parem cum liberis, regnique participem fecisti,

*have been of any service. Other kings* have been *received by you into friendship, either after they were conquered in war, or in their distressed circumstances have solicited for an alliance with you. our family contracted an alliance with the Roman people in the Carthaginian war: at which time their fidelity* to their friends *was more to be regarded, than their fortune. Suffer not, illustrious Fathers, a descendant of that family to implore assistance of you in vain. If I had no pretension for procuring it, besides my wretched condition; that I, lately a prince considerable for extraction, fame, and forces, am now disfigured with affliction, in want of every thing,* and *looking out for help from others: yet it would become the majesty of the Roman people, not to suffer outrages, nor any prince to grow great by villainous practices. But I have been forced out of that country, which the Roman people bestowed upon my ancestors; from whence my father and grandfather, in conjunction with you, drove Syphax and the Carthaginians. Your favours are wrested from me, worthy Fathers:* and *in the wrong done me you are affronted. Alas, wretch that I am!* My dear *father Micipsa, is* your *kindness*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Erat majestatis*] Intellige *officium, opus.*

3. *Neque cujusquam regnum*] *Neque* is put for *et ne,* and the sentence must be thus resolved: *Majestatis erat, prohibere injuriam, et* prohibere, *ne cujusquam regnum per scelus cresceret.*

is potissumùm stirpis tuæ exstinctor sit? Numquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fugâ versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia sæva patiebamur: hostes ab latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ejecta, læti pacem agitabamus, quippe quìs hostis nullus, nisi fortè quem jussissetis. Ecce autem, ex improviso, Jugurtha, intolerandâ audaciâ, scelere, atque superbiâ, sese ecferens, fratre meo, atque eodem propinquo suo, interfecto, primùm regnum ejus sceleris sui prædam fecit: post, ubi me îsdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minùs, quàm vim, aut bellum exspectantem, in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patriâ, domo, inopem, et coopertum miseriis effecit, ut ubivis tutiùs, quàm in meo regno essem. Ego sic existumabam, Patres conscripti, ut prædicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vestram amicitiam colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; cæterùm ex omnibus max-

*come to this, that he, whom you made equal with* your own *children, and joint-heir of your kingdom, should be, above all others, the destroyer of your issue? Shall our family then never be at rest? shall we be always in blood, war,* or *banishment? Whilst the Carthaginians were in power, of course we suffered all hardships: our enemies were our next neighbours, you our friends far off, all our hopes were in our arms. After that plague was turned out, we passed our days in peace with pleasure; as having no enemy, unless perhaps such as you had appointed us. But behold unexpectedly, Jugurtha erecting his plumes with intolerable impudence, wickedness, and pride, having murdered my brother, and he his kinsman too, made his kingdom in the first place the prize of his villainy:* and *afterward, when by such wicked contrivance he could not trepan me, whilst I looked for nothing at all of violence or war, he expelled me, in the face of your mighty power, as you see, from my country, from my home, in want of every thing,* and *under the heaviest load of misery, that* now *I am safer any where, than in my own kingdom. I did imagine, noble Fathers, as*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Pestis ejecta*] By *pestis* we are to understand the Carthaginians; and by *ejecta*, their being subdued, and turned out of their possessions in Africa by the Romans.

5. *Nihil minùs quàm vim, &c.*] Modus dicendi, quo notatur vim ac bellum planè non timuisse.

umè tutos esse. Quod in familiâ nostrâ fuit, præstitit, utì in omnibus bellis vobis adessent. nos utì per otium tuti simus, in manu vestrâ est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit: tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis, ratus nobis conjunctum fore. alter eorum necatus, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quò potissumùm infelix accedam? generis præsidia omnia exstincta sunt: pater, utì necessè erat, naturæ concessit; fratri, quem minumè decuit, propinquus, per scelus vitam eripuit; adfines, amicos, propinquos cæteros, alium alia clades oppressit: capti ab Jugurthâ, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti; pauci, quibus relictâ animâ, clausi in tenebris, cum mœrore et luctu, morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quæ aut amisi, aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improviso accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus, pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnîs curæ esse decet. Nunc verò exsul

*I had heard my father say, that they, who would cultivate friendship with you, undertook a mighty task; but were of all* mankind *the most secure. What was in the power of our family to do, it did; it assisted you in all your wars. it is in your power, my Lords, that we be secure in times of peace. My father left* behind him *us two brothers; thinking Jugurtha, on account of his kindness, would be united to us as a third. one of these* three *is already murdered, and I with much ado escaped the wicked hands of the other. What shall I do? to what place rather than another shall I, unhappy man, go? all the props of our family are cut off: my father, as necessity required, yielded to* the order of *nature; a kinsman, whom it least of all became, in a wicked manner took away my brother's life; various disasters have ruined my other relations, friends,* and *kinsmen: being taken prisoners by Jugurtha, part of them have been crucified, part exposed to* wild *beasts; a few, to whom life was left, shut up in dungeons, lead a life in sorrow and mourning, worse than death. If all remained entire* in my possession, *which either I have lost, or of friends are become foes, yet, if any thing* disastrous

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Pars in crucem acti*] See cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

7. *Ex necessariis advorsa facta*] Sallust uses *advorsa* in the neuter gender, because it makes the sense more extensive, and equally applicable to persons and things.

patriâ, domo, solus, et omnium honestarum rerum egens, quô accedam, aut quos adpellem? nationesne, an reges, qui omnes familiæ nostræ ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremô, Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres Conscripti, ne quem coleremus, nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne fœdera nova acciperemus: abundè magna præsidia nobis in vestrâ amicitiâ fore: si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, unà nobis occidendum esse. Virtute, ac dîs volentibus, magni estis et opulenti: omnia secunda et obedientia sunt; quò faciliùs sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantùm illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthæ, parùm cognita, transvorsos agat; quos ego audio maxumâ ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognitâ caussâ, statuatis: fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miserias projectus sum, eadem hæc simulantem videam: et ali-

*happened unexpectedly, I should apply to you, mighty Fathers; whom, by reason of your vast dominion, it becomes to take care of all* matters of *right and wrong. But now banished* as I am *from my country, from my home, left alone, and in want of every thing that is decent, whither can I go, or to whom can I apply? to* foreign *nations, or princes, who are all mortal enemies to our family on account of your alliance? or can I go any whither, where there are not a great many monuments of the hostilities of my ancestors* against the country in your favour? *or can any one have compassion upon me, who was ever an enemy to you? Finally, noble Fathers, Masinissa's instruction to us* ever *was, to make no court to any, but the Roman people, to engage in no new alliance or confederacies: that we should have abundance of protection in your friendship:* and *if fortune should turn upon this empire* to its ruin, *we must* of necessity *perish with it. By* your own *good conduct, and the favour of the gods, you are great and mighty: all things follow your pleasure, and are submissive* to your power; *by reason whereof you can more easily redress the injuries of your allies. Only this I fear, least Jugurtha's private friendship, little seen into, lead some aside; who, I hear, are using their utmost endeavours, soliciting* and *impor-*

quando aut apud vos aut apud deos immortalîs, rerum humanarum cura oriatur: ne ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque præclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatùs, impietatis, in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis, mearumque miseriarum gravîs pœnas reddet. Jam, jam, frater, animo meo carissume, quamquam immaturo, et unde minumè decuit, vita erepta est; tamen lætandum magìs, quàm dolendum puto casum tuum, non enim regnum, sed fugam, exsilium, egestatem, et omnîs has quæ me premunt, ærumnas, cum animâ simul amisisti. At ego, infelix, in tanta mala præcipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum præbeo: incertus quid agam, tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens; an regno consulam, cujus vitæ necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu vivere contemtus viderer, si, defessus malis, injuriæ concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi; ite obviàm injuriæ; nolite pati,

*tuning each of you, not to proceed to any resolution against him in his absence,* and *without a full hearing of his cause:* they say, *that I forge stories,* and *pretend banishment, when I might have continued in my own kingdom. But heavens grant I could see him, by whose impious violence I am plunged into these calamities, dissembling in the same manner* as I do: *and that at last a concern for human affairs may arise, either among you, or among the immortal gods: to be sure, he who now prides and triumphs in his villainy, after being tortured with all evils, shall then suffer heavy vengeance for his wicked ingratitude towards my father, the murder of my brother, and my own distresses. Now, now, O brother, most dear to my soul, though your life was snatched from you in the prime of your days, and by one who it least of all became, yet I think your fate is rather to be rejoiced in, than lamented. for it was not* so much *a kingdom, but* rather *expulsion, banishment, want, and all those miseries which oppress me, that you lost together with your life. But I, poor wretch, thrown headlong from my father's kingdom into such calamities, furnish a spectacle* of the uncertainty *of human affairs: at a loss what to do, whether I should insist on the wrongs done you, helpless as I am; or mind my kingdom* only *whilst the*

regnum Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiæ nostræ tabescere."

*disposal of me as to life or death depends upon the power of others. I wish death could be an honourable issue to my unfortunate circumstances, that by living I may not seem contemptible, if, tired out with misfortunes, I should succumb to oppression. Now I have no inclination to life, nor can I die without disgrace.* I beg of you, *mighty Fathers, for the sake of yourselves, your children and parents, and the majesty of the Roman people, relieve a poor wretch: stop the career of oppression;* and *suffer not the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own, to be ruined by villainy and the murder of our family."*

XV. Postquam Rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthæ, largitione magis quàm caussâ freti, paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob sævitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quòd injuriam facere nequivisset. Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent, ac Numantiæ cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curiâ egrediuntur. Senatus statìm consulitur: fautores legatorum, præthereà magna pars gratiâ depravati, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthæ virtutem extollere laudibus; gratiâ, voce, denique omnibus modis, pro alieno scelere et flagitio, suâ quasi pro gloriâ, nitebantur. At contrà pauci, quibus bonum et æquum divitiis carius, subveniundum Adherbali,

XV. *After the King made an end of speaking, the deputies of Jugurtha, depending more upon their bribes than their cause, replied in a few words: "That Hiempsal had been murdered by the Numidians, because of his cruelty: that Adherbal, having raised a war without provocation, complained, after he was baffled, because he had not been able to do the wrong. That Jugurtha begged of the senate, they would not imagine him to be any other man than he was known to be at Numantia, nor prefer the words of his enemy before his actions." Upon this both* parties *quit the house. The senate immediately went upon the affair: the favourers of the Ambassadors, and a great party beside, biassed by* their *influence, slighted what Adherbal had said, extolled the conduct of Jugurtha with encomiums;* and *by their interest, speeches,* and *in short by all methods, laboured in defence of another man's wickedness and infamous crimes, as if* it had been *for their own honour. But on the*

et Hiempsalis mortem severè vindicandam, censebant. Sed ex omnibus maxumè Æmilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiæ, honoris, divitiarum; cæterum vitia sua callidè occultans. is, postquam videt Regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consuetâ lubidine continuit.

XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, qui vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebant. Decretum fit, UTI DECEM LEGATI REGNUM, QUOD MICIPSA OBTINUERAT, INTER JUGURTHAM ET ADHERBALEM DIVIDERENT. cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus, et tum in senatu potens: quia Consul, C. Gracco et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis, acerrumè victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romæ in amicis habuerat, tamen adcuratissumè recepit: dando et pollicitando perfecit, uti famâ, fide, postremò omni-

*other hand a few, by whom justice and equity was more regarded than money, advised to relieve Adherbal, and revenge severely the death of Hiempsal. But amongst all* these *especially Æmilius Scaurus, a person of noble descent, active, factious, greedy of power, honour,* and *riches; but cunningly concealing his vices. he, after he sees the King's bribery notorious and barefaced, fearing, what is usual in such a case, lest the scandalous freedom* taken in that matter *should raise an odium, restrained his mind from its usual passion.*

XVI. *However, that party in the senate prevailed, that preferred money or favour to truth. A decree passes,* that ten commissioners should divide the kingdom, which Micipsa had held, betwixt Jugurtha and Adherbal. *of which commissioners the chief was L. Opimius, a person of great figure, and of vast influence at that time in the senate: because being Consul, when C. Graccus and M. Fulvius Flaccus were slain, he had improved, in a most vigorous manner, the success of the nobility against the commons. Jugurtha, though he had found him among his friends at Rome, yet received him with the utmost ceremony;* and *by giving and promising,*

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XV. *Pollvta licentia*] *Polluta* dicitur quæ est fœda atque immoderata.
XVI. 1. *Pars illa, qui*] See cap. lxxxix. n. 3.
2. *Famâ, fide*] These may here be taken for datives, the first being put

bus suis rebus commodum Regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eâdem viâ adgressus, plerosque capit: paucis carior fides, quàm pecunia fuit. In divisione, quæ pars Numidiæ Mauritaniam adtingit, agro, viris opulentior, Jugurthæ traditur: illam alteram, specie quàm usu potiorem, quæ portuosior et ædificiis magìs exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

*brought it about, that he preferred the King's interest to his credit, his trust,* and *in short, to all his own concerns. Attacking the other commissioners the same way, he corrupts most of them: to few was honour more precious than money. In the partition, that part of Numidia which borders on Mauritania, being more considerable for soil* and *people, is assigned to Jugurtha: Adherbal got possession of the other* part, *more valuable in appearance than in reality, which had more harbours and was better adorned with buildings.*

XVII. Res postulare videtur, Africæ situm paucis exponere, et eas gentîs, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, adtingere. Sed quæ loca et nationes, ob calorem, aut asperitatem, item solitudines, minùs frequentata sunt; de is haud facilè compertum narraverim: cætera quàm paucissumis absolvam.

XVII. *The subject seems to require, that I describe in a few words the situation of Africa, and take notice of those nations, with whom we have had war or alliance. But for the parts and nations, which, because of their* excessive *heat, or their being full of rocks and deserts, are less inhabited, of them I can say little with any certainty: the rest I shall dispatch with all possible brevity.*

In divisione orbis terræ, plerique in partem tertiam Africam posuere: pauci tantummodò Asiam et Europam esse; sed Africam in Europâ. Ea finîs habet ab occidente fretum nostri

*In the division of the globe of the earth, most* authors *have reckoned Africa for a third part: some few* have reckoned *there were only Asia and Europe: but* then they counted *Africa in Europe. It has for boundaries*

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instead of *famai,* the last instead of *fidei;* though, considering the various forms of construction that occur in the classics, the taking of them as ablatives is attended with no absurdity. Cic. pro Balbo, cap. viii. *Cùm magna pars in iis civitatibus fœderis sui libertatem* civitate anteferrent.

XVII. 1. *Fretum nostri maris et Oceani*] By *fretum* our author means

maris et Oceani: ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem: quem locum Catabathmon incolæ adpellant. Mare sævum, importuosum. ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infœcundus: cœlo, terrâ, penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum: plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro, aut bestiis interiere: nam morbus haud sæpe quemquam superat. Ad hoc malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint: (quamquam ab eâ famâ, quæ plerosque obtinet, diversum est:) tamen utì ex libris Punicis, qui Regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est; utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terræ putant, quàm paucissumis dicam. Cæterùm fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

*on the west the streight betwixt our sea and the Ocean: toward the rising of the sun, a declining tract of ground: which place the inhabitants call Catabathmos. Their sea is boisterous*, and *badly provided in harbours. the country is fruitful in grain, fit for cattle, barren in trees:* there is *great scarcity of water, as well of rain from heaven, as springs from the earth. Their stock of people* are *of a healthy constitution, swift of foot, able to endure fatigue: old age cuts off most of them, except such as perish by the sword, or* wild *beasts: for a disease seldom dispatches any of them. Moreover* there are here *a great many creatures of the noxious kind. But as to what people possessed Africa at first, and who came to it afterward, and how they incorporated with one another: (tho'* my account be *different from the opinion that prevails amongst most people:) yet I shall give a relation in as few words as possible, as it was interpreted to me out of the Carthaginian books, which were said to be King Hiempsal's; and as the people of that country suppose the matter is. But the credibility of this affair shall be* left *upon the authors of it.*

XVIII. Africam initio habuere Gætuli et Libyes,

XVIII. *The Gætulians and the Libyans possessed Africa at*

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*fretum Gaditanum* sive *Herculeum*, now called *the Streights of Gibraltar:* by *nostri maris* he means the *Mediterranean*, and by *Oceani* the great *Atlantic ocean.* I think it no injustice done Sallust to observe here, that his geographical descriptions are none of the most accurate.

2. *Catabathmon*] This is a greek word, of the same import as *declivis latitudo.*

asperi, inculti; quîs cibus erat caro ferina, atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus, neque lege, neque imperio cujusquam regebantur: vagi, palantes, quà nox coëgerat, sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispaniâ Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit; exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce, ac passim multis, sibi quîque, imperium petentibus, brevì dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persæ, et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proxumos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persæ intra Oceanum magìs; iique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere; quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emundi, aut mutandi copia erat. mare magnum, et ignara

*first, a rough, unpolished people; whose meat, like that of cattle, was the flesh of wild beasts, and the herb of the field. These were under no restraint from custom, law, nor any government:* but *straggling* and *strolling about, took up their lodging where night obliged them. But after Hercules died in Spain, as the Africans imagine; his army, that was made up of divers nations, upon losing their leader, and whilst many every where, each for themselves, were setting up for the command, dwindled to nothing in a short time. Of this number the Medes, the Persians, and Armenians, after being transported by shipping into Africa, seized upon the parts adjacent to our sea. But the Persians* lay *more upon the Ocean; and they made use of the hulls of their ships turned bottom upwards for houses, because there was neither wood in the country, nor opportunity of buying any, or trucking for it with the Spaniards. a*

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XVIII. 1. *In Hispaniâ Hercules—interiit*] Good authors assure us, that the old famous Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, returned safe from Spain. But there were many called by this name among the ancients. Cicero reckons up six, and Varro no less than forty-four. It is no wonder then there should be different accounts of the place or time of their death. But the glory of all their heroic achievements is ascribed to one.

2. *Sibi quîque*] As the learned and accurate Mr. Thomas Ruddiman has, in his Rudiments, p. 25. observed, that the relative pronoun *qui, quæ, quod,* has frequently *quî* in the ablative, and that in all genders and numbers; so *quîque* is here an ablative, being the same with *quoque* or *quibusque.*

3. *Persæ intra Oceanum magis.*] The place our author points at is, the coast of Africa without the Streights of Gibraltar, where, the land upon the shore bending outward, the Atlantic ocean seems to embrace and infold the country, as it were, within its arms.

lingua, commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatìm per connubia Gætulos miscuere: et quia sæpe tentantes agros, alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Numidas adpellavere. Cæterùm adhùc ædificia Numidarum agrestium, quæ mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinæ sunt. Medis autem et Armeniis accessere Libyes, (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant; Gætuli sub sole magìs, haud procul ab ardoribus), hique maturè oppida habuere. nam freto divisi ab Hispaniâ, mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatìm Libyes corrupere, barbarâ linguâ Mauros, pro Medis, adpellantes. Sed res Persarum brevì adolevit: ac postea, nomine Numidæ, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quæ proxumè Carthaginem Numidia adpellatur. Dein utrique alteris freti, finitumos armis aut metu

*wide sea, and an unknown language, obstructed* all *intercourse. These insensibly by intermarriages mixed with the Gætulians: and because, frequently making trial of soil, they had shifted about from place to place, they called themselves Numidians. And to this day the cottages of the Numidian peasants, which they call mapalia, are of an oblong form, ridged up with sides bending out, like the hulls of ships. The Libyans joined the Medes and Armenians, (for they lived nearer the African sea; the Gætulians more to the sun, not far from the scorching heats* in the torrid zone), *and these quickly got towns. for being divided from Spain by a narrow sea,* the Spaniards and *they began to exchange commodities with one another. The Libyans by degrees corrupted their name, calling them, in their barbarous language, Mauri, instead of Medi. But the affairs of the Persians soon were in a flourishing state; and afterwards, under the name of Numidians, separating from their parents because of their vast numbers, possessed themselves of the country about Carthage,*

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4. *Ipsi Numidas adpellavere*] *Numidæ* is derived from the Greek verb *νεμειν, to feed.* They took this name, because they were fed or maintained by strolling about from place to place like grazing cattle.

5. *Hique maturè oppida habuere*] *Hi,* scil. *Medi et Armenii.* The pronouns *hic* and *is* refer sometimes to the more remote antecedent. Quinctil. II. cap. v. *Ut* Liviùm *a pueris magìs quàm Sallustium: et hic* (sc. Livius) *historiæ majoris est auctor.* Jug. cap. XVII. *Sed* Africam in *Europâ. Ea finis habet,* &c. *Hi,* in the parenthesis, denotes the Libyans.

sub imperium cogere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magìs hi, qui ad nostrum mare processerant; quia Libyes, quàm Gætuli, minùs bellicosi: denique, Africæ pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est; victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

*which is called Numidia. After this, both of them confiding in one another, they reduced their neighbours by arms or terror under subjection,* and *acquired to themselves reputation and glory; especially those, who had advanced towards our sea; because the Libyans* are *less warlike than the Gætulians: finally, most of the lower part of Africa was seized upon by the Numidians; all the vanquished* people *fell into the nation and the name of their conquerors.*

XIX. Postea Phœnices, alii multitudinis domi minuendæ gratiâ, pars imperii cupidine, solicitatâ plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque urbîs in orâ maritimâ condidere: hæque brevì multùm auctæ, pars originibus præsidio, aliæ decori fuere. nam de Carthagine silere meliùs puto,

XIX. *Afterwards the Phœnicians, some with a design to lessen the* over-great *crowds at home, some out of a desire of power, having engaged the common people and others fond of novelty,* in the project, *built Hippo, Hadrumetum, Leptis, and other towns upon the sea-coast; and these growing considerably in a little time, were, part of them a security, others an ornament to their founders. for as*

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6. *Africæ pars inferior pleraque*] The lower part of any country, that borders on the sea, is the coast or shore, as is evident from the course of rivers; and therefore by *pars inferior* here we are to understand the places on or near the coast of Africa upon the Mediterranean. For *pleraque*, see cap. liv. note 4.

XIX. 1. *Phœnices*] The Phœnicians were a people in Asia, on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean.

2. *Alii multitudinis——pars imperii*] Another author would have said *alii multitudinis——alii imperii;* but Sallust is a great admirer of variety.

3. *Hadrumetum, Leptim*] Sallust means Leptis minor, which was situated betwixt Hadrumetum and Thapsus; for Leptis major lay betwixt the Syrtes, as he tells us in this very chapter.

4. *De Carthagine silere*] Justin. XVIII. cap. iv. & v. informs us, that Dido, called Elisa, to avoid her brother Pygmalion, who had murdered Acerbas or Sichæus her husband, in order to be possessed of his wealth, fled from Tyre, came by shipping into Africa, and founded this city. It was built about 100 years before Rome, was a great and flourishing city,

quàm parùm dicere; quoniam aliò properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Ægyptum ab Africâ dividit, secundo mari, prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereôn, ac deinceps duæ Syrtes, interque eas Leptis: dein Philenôn aræ, quem Æ-

*to Carthage, I think it better to be silent, than to say but a little; since brevity obliges me to hasten to another subject. Wherefore toward the Catabathmos, which place divides Egypt from Africa, upon the sea, there is first Cyrene, a colony of the Thereans, and next to it the two Syrtes, and Leptis betwixt them:*

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and for a long time the rival of Rome; till at last, about the year of Rome 608, it was entirely destroyed and reduced to ashes by Scipio. The burning continued for seventeen days together; it was said to have been twenty-four miles in compass.

5. *Secundo mari*] This may be explained two ways. 1. If *secundus* be taken as a numeral, to signify *that which comes in the second or next place*, then *secundo mari* may be rendered *the sea being near, contiguous*, or *hard-by*, that is, according to the English idiom, *by the sea side, upon the shore*, or, *as you go along the shore, there is first Cyrene, &c.* 2. If *secundus* be taken not as a numeral, but as an adjective, signifying *favourable, fair, &c.* then *secundo mari* will be the same as *portuoso mari*, or *mari non importuoso*. But though the words will admit of either of these senses, yet the first is that which Sallust seems to intend here, as will appear by what is said in note 8 following.

6. *Colonia Thereôn*] Thera is an island in the Ægean sea, to the north of Crete: hence *Therei, Thereorum*, or, *more Græco, Thereôn*. This colony was sent from Thera by advice of the oracle of Delphos, under the conduct of Aristæus Battus; who, upon his arriving in Africa, built a city, and called it Cyrene, either from the mountain Cyra on which it was founded, or from a young lady named Cyrene, whom, upon his landing, he found there. See the history of this at large in Justin. XIII. cap. vii.

7. *Duæ Syrtes*] These are two gulphs of the sea on the coast of Africa: the eastermost is called *Syrtis major*, and the westermost *Syrtis minor*. Sallust describes them cap. lxxviii.

8. *Philenôn aræ*] *Philenôn* is also the Greek genitive, instead of *Philenorum*. The Phileni were two brothers, Carthagenians, who, to serve their country, condescended to be here buried alive; to the honour of whose memory, the Carthaginians erected the altars here mentioned, as Sallust informs us, cap. lxxix. Now these *Aræ Philenôn* were situated betwixt Cyrene and Syrtis major, whereas our author seems to place them to the west of both the Syrtes. But the reader must observe, that the words of Sallust are *secundo mari prima, &c. i. e.* upon the shore the places are, first Cyrene, and west from it the two Syrtes, and Leptis major betwixt them: then he returns again to the east, to take notice of the places situated not upon the shore, but which were more inland; and in the first place mentions the *Aræ Philenôn*. In this sense Cortius explains the place.

gyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses: pòst aliæ Punicæ urbes. Cætera loca usque ad Mauritaniam Numidæ tenent: proxumè Hispaniam Mauri sunt: super Numidiam Gætulos accepimus, partim in tuguriis, alios incultiùs vagos agitare: post eos Æthiopas esse: dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur, bello Jugurthino, pleraque ex Punicis oppida, et finìs Carthaginiensium, quos novissumè habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat: Gætulorum magna pars, et Numidia usque ad flumen Mulucham, sub Jugurthâ erant: Mauris omnibus Rex Bocchus imperitabat, præter nomen cætera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello neque pace anteà cognitus. De Africâ et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

*then* up the country *the altars of the Phileni, which the Carthaginians esteemed the boundary of their empire towards Egypt: after them* succeed *other Carthaginian towns. The Numidians possess the rest of the country as far as Mauritania: the Moors are next to Spain: the Gætulians, we are told, live above Numidia, some of them in huts, others stroll about in a more uncivilized manner: beyond them are the Ethiopians: then the regions burnt up with the excessive heat of the sun. Now, in the time of the war against Jugurtha, the Roman people governed most of the Punic towns, and the country which the Carthagianians had very lately been possessed of, by magistrates* of their own: *a great part of the Gætulians, and Numidia as far as the river Mulucha, were under Jugurtha: King Bocchus ruled over all the Moors, a stranger to the Roman people any further than their name; and known to us before neither by war nor peace. There is enough said of Africa and its inhabitants to answer my purpose.*

XX. Postquàm, regno diviso, legati Africâ discessere, et Jugurtha, contra

XX. *After the commissioners, upon having divided the kingdom, left Africa, and Jugurtha,*

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9. *Aræ, quem——finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses*] When the relative *qui, quæ, quod,* comes betwixt two substantives of a different gender or number, it sometimes agrees with the last. Cat. cap. lv. *Est* locus *in carcere,* quod Tullianum *adpellatur.* Jug. cap. lxxv. *Ipse ex* flumine, quam *proxumam oppido* aquam *suprà diximus, jumenta onerat.*

timorem animi, præmia sceleris adeptum sese videt; certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romæ venalia esse; simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullò antè muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus: at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriæ, metuens magìs quàm metuendus. Igitur, ex improviso, finìs ejus cum magnâ manu invasit: multos mortalìs, cum pecore atque aliâ prædâ capit, ædificia incendit, pleraque loca hostilitèr cum equitatu accedit. dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit: existumans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quòd neque se parem armis existumabat, et amicitiâ populi Romani magis quàm Numidis fretus erat; legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit: qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, priùs tamen omnia pati decrevit, quàm bel-

*contrary to the fears of his mind, sees himself obtain rewards for his villainy: reckoning for certain, what he had heard from his friends at Numantia, that all things were to be sold at Rome; and being likewise emboldened by the promises of those, whom a little before he had loaded with presents, he sets his heart upon the kingdom of Adherbal. He himself was an active, warlike man: but he, whom he had a design upon, a peaceable, weak creature, of a meek spirit, easily trampled on, fearful rather than to be feared. Wherefore, all on a sudden, he invades his territories with a considerable force; takes abundance of men, with cattle and other plunder, burns towns,* and *overruns in a hostile manner a great part of the country with his horse, and then returns with all his crew into his own kingdom: supposing Adherbal, chaffed with resentment, would revenge by force the abuses done him, and that this would be the occasion of a war. But he, because he did not think himself a match at arms, and depended more upon the friendship of the Roman people, than the Numidians,* though his subjects; *sent deputies to Jugurtha to complain of these outrages:* and *though they brought back but an insulting answer, yet he resolved to*

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XX. *Præmia sceleris*] The rewards were impunity, the half, and that the better half of Numidia, instead of the third part, which was all he had before.

lum sumere: quia, tentatum anteà secus cesserat. Neque tamen eò magìs cupido Jugurthæ minuebatur; quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque, non ut anteà, cum prædatoriâ manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere cœpit, et apertè totius Numidiæ imperium petere. Cæterùm, quà pergebat, urbis, agros vastare, prædas agere; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

*suffer every thing rather than engage in a war: because, when attempted formerly, it had but ill success. However, Jugurtha's ambition was not lessened for this; as having devoured already his whole kingdom in his thoughts. Wherefore he began to make war, not as before, with a plundering hand, but with a great army he had raised, and avowedly aim at the kingdom of all Numidia. And wherever he came, he laid waste the towns and country, carried off the plunder: improved the courage of his own men,* and *increased the terror of his enemies.*

XXI. Adherbal, ubi intellegit, eò processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum; necessario copias parat, et Jugurthæ obvius procedit. Interìm, haùd longè a mari, prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque consedit exercitus: et quia die extremum erat, prælium non inceptum. ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt: semisomnos partìm, alios arma sumentes, fugant funduntque: Adherbal cum paucis equiti-

XXI. *Adherbal, when he finds matters were come to such a pass, that either his kingdom must be abandoned, or kept by force of arms; under this necessity levies forces, and marches out against Jugurtha. In the mean time, both armies, incamped not far from the sea, nigh the town of Cirta: and because the day was almost spent, a battle was not attempted.* but *when most of the night was over, there being then a faint* dawning *light, the soldiers of Jugurtha, upon a signal given, attacked the enemies' camp; put them to flight and dispersed them, whilst some were half asleep, and others were taking to their arms: Adherbal*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXI. 1. *Die extremum erat*] *Die* is an ordinary genitive with Sallust, cap. lii. *Jam* die *vesper erat.* Nor is our author singular in this, Virg. I. Georg. v. 208. *Libra* die *somnique pares ubi fecerit horas.* Plautus, Pseud. act. iv. sc. vii. v. 59. *Vides jam* die *multum esse.*

bus Cirtam profugit, et nî multitudo togatorum fuisset, quæ Numidas insequentes mœnibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos Reges cœptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, vineis, turribusque, et machinis omnium generum, expugnare adgreditur; maxumè festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos, ante prælium factum, Romam Adherbale missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit [tres adolescentes] in Africam leguntur, qui ambos Reges adeant, senatûs populique Romani verbis nuncient, 'Velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere: de controversiis suis jure potiùs quàm bello disceptare;

*with a few horse made his escape to Cirta, and had there not been a good number of Romans* in town, *who repulsed the Numidians in pursuit of him from the walls, the war betwixt the two Kings had been begun and ended in one day. Upon this Jugurtha laid close siege to the town,* and *endeavours, by means of vineæ, turrets, and engines of all sorts, to take it; hastening much to have the business finished before the return of the deputies, who he heard had been sent to Rome by Adherbal, before the battle was fought. But after the senate was informed of this war, there were [three young gentlemen] despatched into Africa, who were to go to both Kings,* and *acquaint them in the name of the senate and people of Rome, 'That it was their pleasure and command, they should lay aside arms; and decide their disputes*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Togatorum*] By *Togati* we are to understand the Romans, whose distinguishing habit or dress was the *toga*; and hence, Virg. I. Æneid. v. 286. calls them *gens togata.* The Greeks, on the other hand, were called *Palliati*, from the *pallium* or cloak they used to wear. Now, in all the Roman provinces, there generally were a good number of Romans, either merchants, travellers, or persons otherwise employed; and those in Cirta at this time took part with Adherbal against Jugurtha.

3. *Vineis*] The *vineæ* were a kind of wicker boxes, covered over above with hurdles, under the shelter whereof the soldiers would advance to the very walls, and undermine them.

4. *Turribusque*] *Turres*, or *turrets*, were structures of wood, in a square form, equal in height to the walls, or a little higher; they rolled upon wheels fixed below, within the planks, and were pushed forward by men behind them. Within they were filled with armed men, well prepared to annoy the besieged in every shape.

5. *Velle et censere*] *Velle* proprie populus discebatur, *censere* senatus, Sed illud etiam, etsi raro, de senatu dicitur.

ita seque illisque dignum fore."

*by law rather than war: that this would be for the honour of the Romans and themselves too."*

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eò magìs, quòd Romæ, dum proficisci parant, de prælio facto et oppugnatione Cirtæ audiebatur: sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha, acceptâ oratione, respondit: "Sibi neque magis quidquam, neque carius auctoritate senati: ab adolescentiâ ita enisum, utì ab optumo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitiâ, P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: ob easdem artes ab Micipsâ, non penuriâ liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: cæterùm quò plura benè atque strenuè fecisset, eò animum suum injuriam minùs tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitæ suæ insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviàm isse: populum Romanum neque rectè, neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerint: postremò de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevì missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur.

XXII. *The deputies went over to Africa with all dispatch, and the rather, because, whilst they were preparing to take journey, they had the news at Rome of the battle that was fought, and the siege of Cirta: but that report was much softened. Jugurtha, upon hearing their commission, replied: "That to him there was neither any thing greater, nor more respectable, than the authority of the senate: that he had endeavoured to behave from his youth in such a manner, as to be approved by every good man: that by virtue, not wickedness, he had pleased that great man P. Scipio; that for the same conduct he had been adopted by Micipsa into his kingdom,* and *not for want of children: but the more he had behaved well and gallantly, the less could his spirit put up with ill usage: that Adherbal, by secret contrivances, had formed a plot against his life; upon the discovery of which, he had* only *opposed his wicked intention: that the Roman people would act neither well nor fairly, if they debarred him from the* common *right of*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXII. 1. *Rumor clemens*] *Clemens* dicitur rumor, quando rem non exaggerat, aut infra atrocitatem rei est.

2. *Acceptâ oratione*] *Orator* anciently signified an ambassador or messenger, and hence *oratio* was used to denote the message or commission. The supine, *oratum*, signified to execute the embassy, or deliver the message, *i. e.* to beg aid or peace. Cap. xxiv. *Ad vos oratum mitto.* See cap. cviii. note 1.

Adherbalis adpellandi copia non fuit.

*nations: finally, that he would shortly send deputies to Rome about all matters." Thus they parted.* The deputies *had not* access *to speak with Adherbal.*

XXIII. Jugurtha ubi eos Africâ decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest; vallo atque fossâ mœnia circumdat, turrîs exstruit, easque præsidiis firmat: præthereà dies, noctes, aut per vim, aut dolis tentare, defensoribus mœnium præmia modò, modò formidinem ostentare, suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsùs intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal, ubi intellegit omnîs suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuriâ rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse; ex his, qui unâ Cirtam profugerant, duo maxumè impigros delegit, eos multa pollicendo, ac miserando casum suum confirmat, utì per hostium munitiones noctu ad proxumum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIII. *Jugurtha, when he supposed they were gone from Africa, and* finding *he could not take Cirta by force of arms, because of the nature of the place; surrounds the walls with a rampart and a ditch, erects towers, and fills them with armed men: and besides, makes attempts by day* and *night, either in the way of force or stratagem, presents one while rewards, another while terror, to the defenders of the walls,* and *by animating his own men, excites them to a gallant behaviour;* and *with the utmost eagerness makes all possible efforts. Adherbal, when he found matters were come to the last extremity, his enemy bent upon his destruction, no hopes of assistance,* and *that the war could not be prolonged for want of necessaries; chooses from amongst those, that had escaped along with him to Cirta, two of the most active,* and *by large promises, and deploring his condition, prevails with them to go through the enemies' lines, in the night-time, to the next sea, and from thence to Rome.*

XXIV. Numidæ paucis diebus jussa efficiunt: litteræ Adherbalis in senatu

XXIV. *The Numidians execute their orders in a few days: Adherbal's letter was read in*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXIII. *Turrîs exstruit*] The *turres* here are not the *turres mobiles* mentioned cap. xxi. but fixed, being built of earth, and erected chiefly to secure the rampart, ditch, and other works against sallies of the besieged from within, or attacks from their friends and allies from without.

recitatæ, quarum sententia hæc fuit.

"Non meâ culpâ sæpe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthæ subigit: quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, utì neque vos, neque deos immortalîs in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quâm omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor: neque mihi Micipsæ patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta, auxiliantur. Ferro an fame acriùs urguear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurthâ scribere, dehortatur fortuna mea: etiam anteà expertus sum, parùm fidei miseris esse. Nisi tamen intellego, illum suprâ, quàm ego sum, petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram, et regnum meum sperare: utrum gravius existumet nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum; dein patrio regno me expulit: quæ sanè fuerint nostræ injuriæ, nihil ad vos. Verùm nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet: me,

*the senate, of which this was the purport.*

"*It is no fault of mine, illustrious Fathers, that I send so often to implore your aid, but Jugurtha's violence compels me: whom so great a desire of destroying me has possessed, that he regards in his heart neither you, nor the immortal gods; he had rather have my blood, than all things else.* And *therefore I, an ally and friend of the Roman people, am kept blocked up with* his *arms now these five months: neither the kindnesses of my father Micipsa, nor your decrees, afford me relief. I know not, whether I am more grievously distressed by sword, or by famine. My circumstances discourage me from writing more concerning Jugurtha: I have found by experience, even before now, that the unfortunate have but little credit. Except however that I understand he aims at something beyond what I am, and does not hope for your friendship, and my kingdom at the same time: which of the two he would think the greatest hardship* to be disappointed in, *is a secret to no body. For first of all he murdered my brother Hiempsal; and then forced me from my father's kingdom: which indeed were*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXIV. 1. *Oratum mitto*] See cap. xxii note 2.

2. *Urguear*] This is ancient orthography; the moderns write *urgeo.*

3. *Nisi tamen intellego*] Dixerat *se plura scribere nolle, quod parùm fidei miseris sit;* et addit, *nisi* hoc unum, quod Jugurtha amplius quid petat, quam vitam regnumque suum. Manet itaque *nisi* particula exceptiva.

quem Imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet: legatorum verba quanti fecerit, pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem, et hæc, quæ scribo, et quæ anteà in senatu questus sum, vana forent, potiùs quàm miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eò natus sum, ut Jugurthæ scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque ærumnas, tantummodò inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiæ, quod vestrum est, utì lubet, consulite: me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiæ fidem; si ulla apud vos memoria avi mei Masinissæ."

*acts of injustice done to me,* though *nothing to you. But now he keeps, by force of arms, a kingdom that is yours: blocks up and besieges me, whom you appointed King of the Numidians: how much he valued the remonstrances of your deputies, my dangers show. What remains, but your power, wherewith he can be moved? For I indeed could wish, that both this which I now write, and what formerly I complained of in the senate were groundless fictions, rather than that my misery should gain credit to my words. But since I was born for this end, that I might be a spectacle of the villainies of Jugurtha, I do not now beg deliverance from death or misery, but only from the tyranny of my enemy, and torture of body. Dispose, as you please, of the kingdom of Numidia, which is your own:* but I beseech you, *by the majesty of your mighty power, by the honour of your alliance, rescue me from impious hands; if there be any remembrance with you of my grandfather Masinissa."*

XXV. His litteris recitatis, fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quàm primùm Adherbali subveniundum: de Jugurthâ interìm utì consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab ìsdem Regis fautoribus summâ ope enisum, ne decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privatâ gratiâ devictum. Legantur

XXV. *After the reading of this letter, there were* some, *who gave it as their opinion, that an army should be sent into Africa, and relief given to Adherbal with all possible speed:* and *that in the mean time a resolution should be entered upon concerning Jugurtha, because he had not obeyed the deputies. But endeavours were used with the utmost keenness by the same favourers of the king, that this might not be passed into a decree.*

tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus: in quìs M. Scaurus, de quo suprà memoravimus, consularis, et tum senati princeps. Hi, quòd in invidiâ res erat simul, et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere: dein brevì Uticam adpulsi, litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, QUAM OCISSUME AD PROVINCIAM ACCEDAT; SEQUE AD EUM AB SENATU MISSOS. Ille ubi accepit, homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romæ pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse; primò commotus, metu atque lubidine divorsus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati [nî paruisset legatis]: porrò, animus cupidine cæcus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur, exercitu circumdato, summâ vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxumè sperans, diductâ manu hostium, aut vi, aut dolis se-

*Thus the public good, as is usual in most cases, was baffled by private interest. However*, some *elderly noblemen, in high offices of state, are dispatched over into Africa: among whom* was M. *Scaurus, of whom we spoke above, a person of consular dignity, and then at the head of the senate. These, both because there was a general outcry in the case, and being importuned by the Numidians, went aboard a ship within three days: and soon after arriving at Utica, sent a letter to Jugurtha, with orders,* to repair forthwith to the province; and that they had a message to him from the senate. *When he found, that persons of high rank, whose influence he had heard was great at Rome, were come to oppose his design; at first being much shocked, he was distracted betwixt fear and ambition. He feared the resentment of the senate, [if he did not obey their deputies]: and then again, his mind blinded with ambition hurried him on to the cursed enterprise he was engaged in. The wicked resolution however pre-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXV. 1. *Senati princeps*] The right of creating Senators belonged at first to the Kings; afterwards the Consuls named them, and referred them to the people for their approbation: but at last the Censors ingrossed the privilege of conferring this honour. He that stood first in the Censor's roll, had the honourable title of *princeps senati*; yet the chief magistrates, such as the Consuls, the Dictator, &c. were always his superiors in the house.

2. *Uticam adpulsi*] A town on the coast of Africa, opposite to Sardinia, famous by the death of Cato. It was built much about the same time with Carthage, by a colony of Tyrians too, as Justin relates, XVIII. cap. iv.

se casum victoriæ inventurum. Quod ubi secùs procedit, neque, quod intenderat, efficere potest, uti priùs, quàm legatos conveniret, Adherbalis potiretur; ne ampliùs morando, Scaurum, quem plurimùm metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac tamen etsi senati verbis minæ graves nunciabantur, quòd oppugnatione non desisteret; multâ tamen oratione consumtâ, legati frustra discessere.

*vailed in his covetous heart. Wherefore, drawing his army quite round* the town, *he endeavours with the utmost vigour to break into Cirta, being in great hopes, that, by dividing the forces of the enemy, he should find a chance of success, either in the way of force or stratagem. But when it fell out otherwise, and he was not able to effect what he had designed,* namely, *to get Adherbal into his hands, before he waited on the commissioners;* and *lest, by delaying longer, he should provoke Scaurus, whom he very much dreaded, he came,* attended *with a few horse, into the province. And though heavy threats were denounced in the name of the senate, because he had not given over the siege; yet, after spending much talk, the commissioners went off without being able to do any thing.*

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtæ audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute mœnia defensabantur, confisi, deditione factâ, propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, utì seque, et oppidum Jugurthæ tradat, tantùm ab eo vitam paciscatur; de cæteris senatui curæ fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthæ rebatur; quia penes eosdem, si advorsaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, utì censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat: dein omnîs puberes Numi-

XXVI. *After this was heard of at Cirta, the Italians, by whose bravery the walls had been defended, being persuaded, that upon making a surrender they would be secure from all harm, in consideration of the grandeur of the Roman people, advised Adherbal to deliver up both himself and the town to Jugurtha,* and *only capitulate with him for his life; that for other things they would be taken care of by the senate. Now he, though he esteemed any thing better* security *than Jugurtha's promise;* yet, *because it was in their power to force him, if he should oppose it, makes a surrender, as the Italians had advised. Jugurtha, in the first place,*

das et negotiatores promiscuè, uti quisque armatis obvius, interfecit.

*puts Adherbal to death with torture: and then slaughtered all the Numidians of age, and the merchants* too, *without distinction, as each of them fell in the soldiers' way.*

XXVII. Quod postquam Romæ cognitum, et res in senatu agitari cœpta, îdem illi ministri Regis interpellando, ac sæpe gratiâ, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus, atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac nì C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer, et infestus potentiæ nobili-

XXVII. *After this was known at Rome, and the matter began to be debated in the senate, the same agents of the King, by throwing obstructions in the way, and protracting the time often by their interest* with the members, *sometimes by wrangling, endeavoured to lessen the odiousness of the fact. And had not C. Memmius, tri-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXVII. 1. *Tribunus plebis designatus*] In the year of Rome 260, the commons having been much discontented for a long time before, at seeing the nobility possessed of all the wealth and honours of the republic, and themselves loaded with all the toil, insisted upon having magistrates chosen from among themselves, who might secure them from the oppression of the senate and nobility, and accordingly the *tribuni plebis* were created. At first only two were appointed, afterward five, and at last ten. By the creation of these officers, the power of the senate was very much limited; for under pretence of maintaining the liberties of the people, they approved or rejected, at pleasure, the decrees of the Senate and Consuls, and of all other magistrates, except the Dictators. When the Tribunes approved a decree, they subscribed a *T*; and when they disapproved of it, they wrote the word *veto* or *vetamus*, to forbid or prohibit the execution of it. The persons of the Tribunes were by a law declared *sacrosancti*, or sacred and inviolable. They had a kind of beadle, called *viator*, who walked before them. In all the *plebiscita*, or ordinances of the people, the Tribunes were obliged to be unanimous, at least not to dissent; for if but one of them opposed the ordinance, it was rendered ineffectual. And hence Jugurtha, by means of the Tribune Bæbius, got clear of the inquisition proposed by Memmius, cap. xxxiv. These Tribunes were sometimes extravagantly imperious. They would assemble and dismiss the Senate, imprison the Consuls, and were frequently the cause of many dangerous tumults; and hence they are called by some authors *pestes reipublicæ* and *seditiosi magistratus*. They were laid under great restrictions by Sulla, insomuch that their power was much impaired, nay almost quite abolished. But this tribunicial power was again restored by Pompey, as we learn from Sallust, Cat. cap. xxxviii. They were both elected and entered on their office before the Consuls; and, during this interval, were, like them, called *designati*. See Cat. cap. xviii. n. 2.

tatis, populum Romanum edocuisset, ID AGI, UTI PER PAUCOS FACTIOSOS JUGURTHÆ SCELUS CONDONARETUR, profectò omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat: tanta vis gratiæ atque pecuniæ Regis. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientiâ populum timet; lege Semproniâ provinciæ futuris Consulibus, Numidia atque Italia decretæ: Consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius; Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit; deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur: stipendium, alia, quæ bello usui forent, decernuntur.

*bune elect of the commons, a warm man, and an avowed enemy to the power of the nobility, informed the Roman people,* there was a design carrying on, that Jugurtha's horrid crime, by means of a few leading men, should be pardoned: *without question all the odium, by their dilatory procedure, would have vanished: so great was the influence of the King's interest and his money. But when the senate, from a sense of guilt, dreaded* the resentment of *the people; Numidia and Italy were appointed as provinces for the ensuing Consuls, according to the Sempronian law: P. Scipio Nasica,* and *L. Bestia Calpurnius, are chosen Consuls; Numidia fell to Calpurnius, Italy to Scipio; and then an army, to be transported into Africa, is levied: money* and *other things that were necessary for the war, are voted.*

XXVIII. At Jugurtha, contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui, Romæ omnia venum ire, in animo hæserat; filium, et cum eo duo familiarîs ad senatum, legatos mittit: hisque, ut illis, quos, Hiempsale interfecto, miserat, præcepit, *omnîs mortalîs pecuniâ adgrediantur.*

XXVIII. *But Jugurtha, upon receiving the news of this contrary to his expectation, as who had been full of a persuasion that all things were to be sold at Rome; dispatches away his son, and with him two of his confidants, as ambassadors to the senate: and instructs them, as* he had done *those whom he sent after the murder of*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Lege Semproniâ*] The author of this law was C. Sempronius Gracchus, Tribune of the Commons, *A. U.* 630. It ordained, that, before the annual *comitia* for choosing the Consuls, the senate should determine what were to be the consular provinces, or which two provinces the new Consuls were to have: and these the Consuls, without consulting the senate, divided betwixt them by lot, or otherwise, if they thought proper.

Qui postquam Romam adventabant, senatus a Bestiâ consultus: PLACERETNE, LEGATOS JUGURTHÆ RECIPI MOENIBUS, iique decrevere: "nisi regnum, ipsumque deditum venissent, utì in diebus [proxumis] decem Italiâ decederent." Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobilîs, factiosos; quorum auctoritate, quæ deliquisset, munita fore sperabat: in quîs fuit Scaurus, cujus de naturâ et habitu suprà memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multæ bonæque artes animi et corporis erant: quas omnîs avaritia præpediebat: patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissumus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium, atque inde Siciliam, porrò ex Sicilciâ in Africam transvectæ. Igitur Calpurnius initio, paratis commeatibus, acritèr Numidiam ingressus

*Hiempsal,* to accost every body with money. *After they arrived at Rome, the senate was consulted by Bestia: to know* whether it was their pleasure the ambassadors of Jugurtha should be admitted into the city, *and they voted: "That unless they were come to surrender the kingdom and himself too, they should be gone out of Italy within ten days [next to come.]" The Consul orders report to be made to the Numidians, according to the resolve of the senate: so they went home without doing any business. In the mean time Calpurnius, having raised an army, chooses for his lieutenant-generals noblemen of great interest in their party; under whose authority, he hoped, those things would be sheltered, which he might do amiss: amongst whom was Scaurus, of whose character and temper we spoke above. For in our Consul were many and excellent endowments* both *of mind and body: all which covetousness very much marred the exercise of: he* was *able to endure fatigue, of a penetrating judgment, abundance of foresight, not unskilled in war,* and *very much upon his guard against dangers and stratagems. Now the legions were carried through Italy to Rhegium, and from thence to*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXVIII. *Recipi mœnibus*] The Romans did not admit the ambassadors of every prince or state to enter their city: and therefore there was a *villa publica* erected without the walls, for the reception of such as they did not incline to confer this honour upon; and sometimes too the senate gave them a hearing in the temple of Bellona, which was also without the city.

est, multos mortalìs, et urbìs aliquot pugnando capit.

*Sicily, and from Sicily to Africa. Whereupon Calpurnius, at first, after having provided necessaries, briskly entered Numidia, takes a great many prisoners, and several towns by dint of sword.*

XXIX. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecuniâ tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere cœpit; animus æger avaritiâ facilè conversus est. Cæterùm socius et administer omnium consiliorum adsumitur Scaurus: qui tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrumè Regem impugnaverat; tamen magnitudine pecuniæ a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primùm tantummodò belli moram redimebat, existumans, sese aliquid interim Romæ pretio, aut gratiâ effecturum: posteà vero quàm participem negotii Scaurum acceperat; in maxumam spem adductus recuperandæ pacis, statuit cum eis de omnibus pactionibus præsens agere. Cæterùm intereà, fidei caussâ, mittitur a Consule Sextius Quæstor in oppidum Jugurthæ Vagam: cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palàm legatis imperave-

XXIX. *But when Jugurtha begun by his agents to tempt him with money, and to represent the difficulty of the war which he was carrying on; his mind infected with avarice was easily altered. But Scaurus is taken in as partner and assistant in all his measures: who, tho' at first, when most of his party had been corrupted, he had opposed the King most violently: yet by the vastness of the bribe, was drawn aside from integrity and honour to the knavish course. But Jugurtha at first purchased only a suspension of the war, expecting, he would effect something in the mean time at Rome by money, or interest: but after he found Scaurus was concerned in the affair, being raised to the highest expectation of regaining peace, he resolved to treat with them in person about every article. But in the mean time, by way of security, Sextius the Questor is sent by the Consul to Vaga, a town belonging to Jugurtha: for which conduct the pretence was the receiving of corn, which Calpurnius had publicly ordered the deputies to furnish: because there was now a truce till a surrender should be made. Whereupon the King, as he had pactioned,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXX. 1. *Fidei caussâ*] Fidei faciendæ caussa; ut Jugurtha fidem haberet Bestiæ, missus Sextius Quæstor quasi obses in oppidum Jugurthæ.

2. *Vagam*] This town is in good authors also frequently called *Vacca*,

rat: quoniam deditionis morâ induciæ agitabantur. Igitur Rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit: ac pauca, præsenti consilio, locutus de invidiâ facti, atque in deditionem uti acciperetur; reliqua cum Bestiâ et Scauro secreta transigit: dein postero die, quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed uti pro consilio imperatum, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi, cum parvo argenti pondere, Quæstori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidiâ et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

*came to the camp: and having spoke a few things, in presence of a council* of war, *concerning the odium of his fact, and* begged *that he might be admitted to a surrender; he treated about other things in private with Bestia and Scaurus: and then the day after, the votes being taken as it were by the lump, he is admitted to a surrender. But, as had been ordered in presence of the council, thirty elephants, plenty of cattle and horses, with a small quantity of silver, are delivered up to the Questor. Calpurnius sets out for Rome, to the election of the* new *magistrates. All was quiet in Numidia and our army.*

XXX. Postquam res in Africâ gestas, quoque modo actæ forent, fama divolgavit; Romæ per omnîs locos et conventus de facto

XXX. *After fame had blazed abroad the affairs transacted in Africa, and in what manner they had been managed; the conversation turned, in all places and com-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Deditionis morâ*] Per moram, *quam*, faciebat de deditio, i. e. quod vulgò dicunt *pendente deditione.*

4. *Quasi per saturam*] *Satura* is an adjective, and signifies *full*; the substantive understood is *lanx, a platter* or *charger,* and *satura lanx* particularly signifies the platter or charger, which was once a year filled with all sorts of fruits, and offered to the gods, as the *primitiæ* or first-fruits of the season. From this medley or mixture of fruits in the charger, the phrase *per saturam* is used to denote whatever is various, manifold or confused: and *per saturam sententias exquirere,* signifies a collecting of votes in a confused manner; such as happens when the members are neither called by name, nor the voices marked or numbered; but when the suffrages are given promiscuously, indistinctly, without any order observed, and as it were all at once, or by the lump.

5. *Ad magistratus rogandos*] This way of speaking flows from the manner in which the election was carried on, which was by asking the votes of the people. The words were *velitis, jubeatis,—rogo, Quirites.* One of the Consuls sat preses at the election, and Bestia was now under the greater necessity of being at Rome for this purpose, because Scipio the other Consul was dead.

Consulis agitari: apud plebem gravis invidia: Patres, probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum Consulis subverterent, parùm constabat. Ac maxumè eos potentia Scauri, quòd is auctor et socius Bestiæ ferebatur, a vero, bono impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiæ nobilitatis suprà diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari: monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent; multa superba, crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere; prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed quoniam eâ tempestate Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit; decere existumavi, unam ex tam multis orationem perscribere: ac potissumùm, quæ in concione post reditum Bestiæ hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

*panies at Rome, upon the behaviour of the Consul: among the commons* there was *heavy indignation; the Fathers were in doubt, whether they should ratify so vile a piece of conduct, or make void the Consul's deed. And especially the power of Scaurus diverted them from truth* and *justice, because he was said to be Bestia's adviser and associate. But C. Memmius, concerning whose free manner, and spite against the power of the nobility, we spoke above, during the hesitation and delays of the senate, by harangues pushed on the populace to revenge; admonished them not to desert the public cause, nor their own liberty: pointed out many insolent* and *cruel doings of the nobility,* and *with the utmost application by all methods inflamed the spirits of the commons. But since at that time the eloquence of Memmius was in great esteem, and of mighty influence; I have thought proper to copy out one speech of so many; and above all others, that which he delivered in an assembly, after the return of Bestia, in the following words.*

XXXI. "Multa dehortantur a vobis, Quirites,

XXXI. "*Many things, O Romans, discourage me from ap-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXX. *Ac potissumùm quæ*] This sentence may be thus supplied, *ac potissumum* perscribam, *quæ;* or rather, *ac potissumum* decere existumavi perscribere, *quæ, &c.* Sallust, respecting the sense rather than the word *orationem,* uses *quæ* in the neuter gender, as of a general import, and not *quam.* We may understand as an antecedent, *ea verba,* or some such word.

XXXI. *Quirites*] Some derive this name from *quiris,* which in the Sabine language, say they, signifies a *spear;* and hence Mars was

ni studium reipublicæ omnia superet: opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum; ac maxumè, quòd innocentiæ plus pèriculi, quàm honoris, est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv. quàm ludibrio fueritis superbïæ paucorum; quàm fœdè quàmque inulti perierint vestri defensores; ut vobis animus ab ignaviâ atque socordiâ corruptus sit: qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed quamquàm hæc talia sunt, tamen obviàm ire factionis potentiæ animus subigit. certè ego libertatem, quæ mihi a parente tradita est, experiar: verùm id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestrâ manu situm, Quirites. Neque ego hortor, quod sæpe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus: necesse est, suomet ipsi more præcipites eant. Oc-

*pearing on your side, did not my zeal for the public interest surmount every thing:* I mean *the power of the faction* of the nobility, *your tame submission, no justice* to be had; *and above all, that honesty has more danger than honour* attending it. *For indeed it galls me to relate, how these fifteen years you have been a sport to the arrogance of a few; how basely, and how unrevenged your patrons have perished; how your courage is destroyed by sloth and indolence: who stir not* in your own defence, *even now, when your enemies are at your mercy, and even yet are afraid of those, to whom it becomes you to be a terror. But tho' these things be so, yet my mind prompts me to make a stand against the power of faction. at least I will use the liberty, that has been bequeathed to me by my father: but, O Romans, it lies in your power, whether I shall do it in vain, or to advantage. I do not advise, what your forefathers often did, to rise in arms against the injustice* done you. *There is no occasion for violence, or separation: they must needs go to ruin by their own*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

called *Quirinus,* i. e. *hastatus.* Romulus, his supposed son, got the same name, and the Romans were called *Quirites.* But others, with a greater show of probability, say, that Romulus, upon his union with Tatius, and the Sabines coming to dwell in Rome, did, to prevent animosities among his citizens, on account of their being of different nations, assume to himself the name of *Quirinus,* and called all the people *Quirites,* borrowing the word from *Cures,* the chief city in the country of the Sabines. In much the same manner, and for the like reason, the Scots and English were by King James VI. upon his being made King of England, called by the common name of *Britons,* and their countries denominated *South* and *North Britain.*

ciso Tiberio Gracco, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quæstiones habitæ sunt. Post C. Gracci et M. Fulvii cædem, item multi vestri ordinis in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verùm lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sanè fuerit regni paratio, plebi sua restituere. quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini, ærarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maxumas divitias esse: tamen hæc talia facinora impunè suscepisse, parùm habuere. itaque postremò leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia, hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos, qui fecere, pudet aut pœnitet: sed incedunt per ora vestra magnificè; sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi honori, non prædæ habeant. Servi ære parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos Quirites, imperio nati, æquo animo servitutem toleratis. At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissumi, cruentis manibus, im-

*way. After Tiberius Graccus was slain, who, they said, had a design upon the sovereignty, inquisitions were made upon the commons of Rome. After the murder of C. Graccus and M. Fulvius, many persons of your rank likewise were put to death in prison: and not law, but their pleasure put an end to both calamities. But let it be indeed an aiming at sovereign power, to restore to the people what is their own. whatever cannot be punished without the bloodshed of citizens, let it be done according to law.* For some *years past you have been filled with silent indignation at the treasury's been pillaged; that kings and free nations paid tribute to a few noblemen; that both the highest dignity and greatest wealth were in the hands of the same persons; yet they esteemed it a small matter to have committed such facts as these with impunity. wherefore at last the laws, your majesty,* and *all things divine and human, were delivered up to enemies. Nor are they, who did it, ashamed of it, or sorry for it: but strut in state before your faces; priding in their sacred dignities and consulships,* and *some in their triumphs: as if indeed they looked upon them as their honour,* and *not as pillage. Slaves purchased with money do not bear with the unreasonable orders of their masters:* and *you, O Romans, born to dominion, endure slavery with a patient mind. But who are these, that have seized*

mani avaritiâ, nocentissumi, îdemque superbissumi; quîs fides, decus, pietas, postremò honesta atque inhonesta omnia quæstui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis; alii quæstiones injustas; plerique cædem in vos fecisse, pro munimento habent. Ita quàm quisque pessumè fecit, tam maxumè tutus est. metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere: quos omnîs eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere, in unum coëgit. sed hæc inter bonos amicitia est, inter malos factio. Quòd si tam libertatis curam haberetis, quàm illi ad dominationem accensi sunt; profectò neque respublica, sicuti nunc est, vastaretur; et beneficia vestra penes optumos, non audacissumos, forent. Majores vestri, parandi juris et majestatis constituendæ gratiâ, bis, per secessionem, armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summâ ope nitemini? atque eò vehementiùs, quòd majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quàm omnio non paravisse. Dicet aliquis, Quid

*upon the public management? most wicked wretches, of bloody hands, insatiable covetousness, most guilty, and very insolent too; to whom faith, honour, piety, and in short every thing honourable and dishonourable, is a way of making money. Part of them esteem as their security their having butchered the tribunes of the commons; others their unjust prosecutions;* and *most of them their having made havock among you. Thus the worse any one has behaved, so much the more safe he is. they have shifted off the fear* which ought to have followed *from their own crimes*, and left it *to your cowardly dispositions: all whom their coveting the same things, hating the same things,* and *fearing the same things, has united into one interest. now this amongst good men is friendship, amongst the wicked combination. But if you were as much concerned for your liberty, as they are fired with inclination to despotic power; to be sure the public would not be preyed upon, as now it is; and your favours would be in the possession of the best men, not the most assuming. Your forefathers twice in arms seized upon the Aventine* mount, *by way of secession, in order to assert their right and establish their authority:* and *will not you exert yourselves with the utmost vigour in defence*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Ad ignaviam vestram transtulere*] Sceleribus alioquin metus conjunctus est; sed illi homines desinunt timere, postquam scelera sceleribus addendo, quæ vos per ignaviam non vindicatis, vobis formidolosi facti sunt.

igitur censes? vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam: non manu, neque vi; quod magìs fecisse, quàm illis accidisse, indignum; verùm quæstionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthæ, qui si dediticius est, profectò jussis vestris obediens erit: sin eò contemnit; scilicet existumabitis, qualis illa pax, aut deditio, ex quâ ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad paucos potentîs maxumæ divitiæ, in rempublicam damna, dedecora pervenerint. Nisi fortè nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quàm hæc tempora, magìs placent, cùm regna, provinciæ, leges, jura, judicia, bella, paces; postremò divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant: vos autem, hoc est, populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere. nam servitutem quidem quis vestrûm recusare audebat? Atque ego, tamen etsi viro flagitiosissumum existumo impunè injuriam accepisse; tamen vos hominibus sceleratissumis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, æquo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem casura esset.

*of that liberty, which you have received from them? and that the more keenly, because it is a greater disgrace to lose what has been acquired, than not to have acquired it at all. Some one will say, What then do you advise?* I answer, *punishment should be inflicted on those, who had betrayed the republic to the enemy: not by force, nor violence; which were more dishonourable to do, than for them to meet with; but by a* legal *prosecution, and the evidence of Jugurtha himself, who, if he has surrendered in good earnest, doubtless will be obedient to your orders: but if he slight them; you will thereby judge what kind of peace, or surrender that is, by which impunity for horrid crimes has accrued to Jugurtha, immense riches to a few grandees, loss* and *infamy to the republic. Unless perhaps a disgust at their tyranny does not even yet possess you, and former times please more than the present, when kingdoms, provinces, laws, rights, judicial trials, war* and *peace; in short every thing divine and human were at the disposal of a few: and you, that is, the people of Rome, invincible to enemies,* and *rulers of all nations, thought it sufficient to have life. for really who of you durst refuse slavery? And tho' I think it highly dishonourable for a man to have received ill usage without revenge; yet I could bear with an easy mind your pardoning the most wicked wretches, because they are fellow citizens, if the*

Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parùm est, impunè malè fecisse, nisi deindè faciundi licentia eripitur: et vobis æterna solicitudo remanebit, cùm intellegetis, aut serviundum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem, aut concordiæ, quæ spes? Dominari illi volunt; vos liberi esse: facere illi injurias; vos prohibere: postremò, sociis vestris velutì hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam divorsis mentibus pax, aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque, ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus ærarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptæ pecuniæ; quæ quamquam gravia, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrumo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum: domi militiæque respublica venalis fuit. Quæ nisi quæsita erunt, nì vindicatum in noxios; quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam

*compassion were not to issue in your destruction. For both it is a small matter for them, as they are obstinate in their conduct, to have done ill actions with impunity, unless the power of doing* the like *afterward be taken from them: and for you, perpetual uneasiness will remain, when you shall find, that either you must be slaves, or your liberty maintained by force. For indeed, what hope is there of* preserving *faith or good agreement? They design to lord it over you; you to be free: they to do mischief; you to hinder it: in fine, they treat your allies as enemies,* and *your enemies as allies. Can peace or friendship exist in minds so differently disposed? Wherefore I advise and beseech you, not to pass such villainy unpunished. It is not a robbing of the treasury that is committed, nor money extorted from your allies by violence; which, though grievous things, yet now by custom pass for trifles. The authority of the senate has been betrayed to your most virulent enemy, your mighty power has been betrayed: the commonwealth has been set to sale both at home and abroad. Which things unless they shall be inquired into, unless vengeance be taken on the guilty; what remains but*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Quantum importunitatis habent*] Mireris, obscuram fuisse hanc formulam interpretibus, cum jam nostrâ ætate frequententur: *qua est modestia, quæ mea liberalitas,* et quæ sunt similia. Dictum itaque pro eo, quod esset: *pro ea, qua sunt, importunitate,* ut Plinius I. epist. 15. *Audisses comœdum vel lectorem vel lyristen, vel* quæ mea liberalitas, *omnes. Importunitatem* vocant impotentiam, et libidinosam audaciam.

impunè quæ libet facere, id est regem esse. Neque ego, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis civîs vestros perperàm, quàm rectè fecisse; sed ne, ignoscendo malis, bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in republicâ multò præstat beneficii, quàm maleficii immemorem esse. bonus tantummodò segnior fit, ubi negligas; at malus improbior. Ad hoc si injuriæ non sint, haùd sæpe auxilii egeas.'

*to live in subjection to those who did them? for to do with impunity what one pleases, is to be a king. I do not advise, gentlemen, that you wish rather your fellow-citizens may have acted amiss than right; but that you may not pave the way for ruining honest men, by pardoning villains. Besides, it is much better, in a government, to be unmindful of a favour, than of an injury. a good man becomes only more careless, when you overlook him; but a rogue the more wicked. Moreover, if there be no offences, you will not often need assistance.'*

XXXII. Hæc atque alia hujuscemodi sæpe dicundo, Memmius populo persuadet, utì L. Cassius, qui tum Prætor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, interpositâ fide publicà Romam duceret; quò faciliùs indicio Regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniæ captæ arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum hæc Romæ geruntur, qui in Numidiâ relicti a Bestiâ exercitui præerant, secuti morem imperatoris, plurima et flagitiosissuma facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti, elephantos Jugurthæ traderent; alii perfugas vendere; pars ex

XXXII. *By often inculcating these and other things of this kind, Memmius prevails with the people, that L. Cassius, who at that time was Prætor, should be sent to Jugurtha,* and, *by engaging the public faith* for his security, *bring him to Rome; that the misconduct of Scaurus and the rest, whom they accused of taking bribes, might be made appear more easily by the king's evidence. Whilst these things are doing at Rome, those left in Numidia by Bestia to command the army, following the example of their general, were guilty of very many and very scandalous miscarriages. There were* some, *who being bribed with gold, delivered back the ele-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Si injuriæ non sint, &c.*] By punishing bad men, you deter and restrain them from doing mischief, or committing injuries; and if injuries be not committed, you will seldom need the assistance of good men for your defence or protection, and will consequently be under small obligations to heap favours upon them for their services.

XXXII. *Ex pacatis*] Intellige *regionibus*.

pacatis prædas agebant. tanta vis avaritiæ in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, perlatâ rogatione a C. Memmio, ac perculsâ omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur; ei timido, et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis, persuadet: 'quò se populo Romano dedidisset, ne vim, quàm misericordiam, experiri mallet.' Privatim prætereà fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat. talis eâ tempestate fama de Cassio.

*phants to Jugurtha; others sold the deserters; part plundered the* countries *that were at peace with us. such a fit of avarice, like a plague, had seized upon their spirits. But Cassius, upon passing of the bill preferred by C. Memmius, and whilst all the nobility were struck with consternation, goes over to Jugurtha;* and *persuades him,* though *sorely frighted, and from a sense of guilt despairing of his case: 'since he had surrendered himself to the Roman people, not to choose rather to make trial of their power than their clemency.' Besides, he privately engaged his own faith, which Jugurtha valued no less than that of the public. such* was *the character of Cassius at that time.*

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha, contra decus regium, cultu quàm maxumè miserabili, cum Cassio Romam venit. Ac tamen etsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentiâ aut scelere cuncta gesserat; C. Bæbium tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentiâ contra jus et injurias omnîs munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advoca-

XXXIII. *Whereupon Jugurtha comes along with Cassius to Rome, with a very sorry equipage, unsuitable to the dignity of a prince. And though he had a large stock of assurance himself,* and *had been encouraged by all* those too, *by means of whose power or roguery he had managed the whole affair;* yet *he gains over C. Bæbius, tribune of the commons, by an immense bribe, that by means of his impudence he might be secured against justice and all harm. But C. Memmius,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Quò se populo*] *Quò* benè pro *quia, quoniam* ponitur. See Cat. cap. xxxiv. n. 3.

XXXIII. 1. *Cultu quàm maxumè miserabili*] It was an ordinary practice among the Romans, for persons accused and under process, to wear mourning habits, or to go in a very mean dress, let their hair and beards grow, and by all possible ways express their humility, till their trial was over, in order to move the compassion of the people, and their judges: and it was with this view, and in compliance with this custom, that Jugurtha came in such a pitiful plight to Rome.

tâ concione, quamquàm Regi infesta plebes erat, et pars 'in vincula duci' jubèbat, pars 'nî socios sceleris aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi;' dignitati, quam iræ magìs consulens, sedare motus, et animos mollire; postremò confirmare, 'fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore.' pòst, ubi silentium cœpit, producto Jugurthâ, verba facit: 'Romæ Numidiæque facinora ejus' memorat; 'scelera in patrem fratresque' ostendit: 'quibus juvantibus quibusque ministris egerit, quamquàm intellegat populus Romanus; tamen velle manifesta magìs ex illo habere: si vera aperiret, in fide et clementiâ populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam: sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore; sese suasque spes corrupturum.'

*having called an assembly, though the people were enraged against the king, and part were for ordering him* '*to be clapt in chains,*' part '*that capital punishment should be inflicted on* him *as an enemy, according to the usage of their ancestors, unless he discovered the associates of his villainy;*' yet Memmius, I say, *having a regard to honour rather than* their *rage, allayed their tumults and calmed their spirits; declaring finally, that the public faith should be inviolate to the utmost of his power.*' *afterward when silence took place, having brought Jugurtha before them, he makes a speech: recounts* '*his wicked intrigues at Rome and in Numidia;*' *sets forth* '*his unnatural behaviour towards his father and his brothers:*' told him '*that though the Roman people knew by whose assistance and by what instruments he had acted, yet they inclined to have a more evident discovery from himself: that if he should discover the truth, there would be great hope for him in the honour and clemency of the Roman people: if he smothered it, that it would not save his associates;* but *he would ruin himself and blast his hopes.*

XXXIV. Deìn, ubi Memmius dicundi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Bæbius, tribunus plebis, quem pecuniâ corruptum suprà

XXXIV. *Afterward, when Memmius made an end of speaking, and Jugurtha was ordered to give his answer, C. Bæbius, tribune of the commons, who we said above had been corrupted by*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Per sese inviolatam fore*] Sese curaturum, ut, *quantum in se sit, quantum ipse perficere queat,* fides publica maneat inviolata.

diximus, Regem tacere jubet: ac tamen etsi multitudo, quæ in concione aderat, vehementèr accensa, terrebat eum clamore, voltu, sæpe impetu, atque aliis omnibus quæ ira fieri amat: vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discessit: Jugurthæ Bestiæque, et cæteris, quos illa quæstio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

*a bribe, commands the King to be silent; and tho' the people, who were present in the assembly, being mightily enraged, endeavoured to daunt him with shouts, looks, often with violence, and every other thing that passion prompts to do; yet his impudence prevailed. The people, after being thus fooled, retired from the assembly; courage revives to Jugurtha and Bestia, and others, whom that process vexed.*

XXXV. Eâ erat tempestate Romæ Numida quidam nomine Massiva, Gulussæ filius, Masinissæ nepos: qui, quia, in dissensione Regum Jugurthæ advorsus fuerat; deditâ Cirtâ, et Adherbale interfecto, profugus ex Africâ abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui proxumo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Minucio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissæ sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgueat; regnum Numidiæ ab senatu petat. Avidus Consul belli gerundi, movere, quàm senescere omnia malebat. ipsi provincia Numidia; Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quæ postquam Massiva agitare cœpit, neque Jugurthæ in amicis satis

XXXV. *There was at that time a certain Numidian at Rome, by name Massiva, the son of Galussa,* and *grandson of Masinissa: who, because, in the quarrel betwixt the kings, he had been against Jugurtha, when Cirta was surrendered, and Adherbal put to death, had fled out of Africa. Sp. Albinus, who, the next year after Bestia, was Consul, with Q. Municius Rufus, persuades him, since he was of the family of Masinissa,* and since *popular odium, with fear on account of horrid crimes, bore hard upon Jugurtha, to make his suit to the senate for the kingdom of Numidia. The Consul, fond of having the management of a war, rather inclined to blow the coal, than* have *all to die away. the province of Numidia had fallen to his lot; Macedonia to Municius. Which after Massiva began to stir in, and there not being sufficient*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXXIV. *Terrebat eum*] *Scil.* Bæbium.

XXXV. 1. *Ob scelera invidia cum metu*] h. e. et quoniam Jugurtham et *invidia* et *metus* urgeat, dum non modò invisus sit Romanis, sed ipse etiam timeat.

præsidii est: quòd eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediebat: Bomilcari, proxumo ac maxumè fido sibi, imperat, 'pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivæ paret, ac maxumè occultè: sin id parùm procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat.' Bomilcar maturè Regis mandata exsequitur: et per homines talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremò loca atque tempora cuncta explorat: deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad cædem parati, paullò inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat: sed ipse deprehensus, multis hortantibus et inprimis Albino Consule, indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex æquo bono-

*protection for Jugurtha in his friends: because a sense of guilt restrained some of them, a bad character and fear others: he orders Bomilcar, a great favourite and heartily in his interest, 'to hire ruffians against Massiva with a piece of money, the way he had accomplished many things, and* murder him *privately if possible: but if that did not succeed, to take off the Numidian by any method.' Bomilcar quickly executes the King's orders: and, by fellows well versed in such sort of work, watches his motions and outgoings, and at last his haunts and all his hours: and afterward, when the matter was ripe, lays the trap. Whereupon one of that number, who had been hired to the assassination, a little too inconsiderately attacks Massiva,* and *murders him: but he being apprehended makes a discovery, many pressing him to it, and especially Albinus the Consul. Bo-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Proxumo ac maxumè fido*] *Proxumi* sunt intimi, quod de regibus et principibus frequenter dicitur. Sic proxumi *amicorum*, Tacit. VI. Ann. cap. xxvi. Dicitur etiam de sanguine conjunctis, ut apud C. Nep. Agesil. cap. i. *Qui* proximus *esset propinquitate.*

3. *Ac maxumè occulte*] Noster *insidias* et *insidiatores* cum effectu intelligit, ita ut intelligat cædem, quam per insidias intenderat.

4. *Paullò inconsultiùs*] These words import his being a little too rash or forward, and not waiting till an opportunity offered of cutting off Massiva privately; for this murder appears to have been committed in a pretty open manner, and accordingly we see the murderer is immediately apprehended.

5. *Indicium profitetur*] Non est fateri, se indicaturum, ut multi interpretantur; sed re ipsâ indicare, quod sit subornatus a Bomilcare in cædem Massivæ. Tacit. VI. Ann. cap iii. *Et summum supplicium decernebatur, nî* professus *indicium foret.*

6. *Fit reus magìs ex æquo bonoque, &c.*] *Æquum* denotes that which is just and reasonable in itself, and *bonum* that which conduces to public

que quàm ex jure gentium, Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publicâ venerat. At Jugurtha, manifestus tanti sceleris, non priùs omisit contra verum niti, quàm animum advortit, supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquàm in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat; regno magis, quàm vadibus consulens, clàm in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit: veritus, ne reliquos popularîs metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum fo-

*milcar, an attendant on him, who had come to Rome upon the public faith, is impeached rather according to equity and justice, than by the law of nations. But Jugurtha,* though *evidently guilty of so great a wickedness, did not give over to wrangle against the truth, till he perceived the odium of the fact was beyond his interest and his money. Wherefore, though in the former step of this process he had given fifty of his friends as bail* for Bomilcar's appearance; yet, *minding his kingdom more than his bail, he sends off Bomilcar privately into Numidia: being afraid, lest fear to obey him might seize the rest of his subjects, if*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

utility, or to the security, interest, felicity, and honour of society. By *æquum bonumque* then we may understand the law of nature, which is equally binding in all countries; and by *jura gentium*, the usages established betwixt nations by mutual consent or long custom.

7. *Animum advortit*] This separate way of writing these words was constantly practised by the ancients; but the modern writers contract them into *animadvorto* or *animadverto*. Sallust sometimes writes them separately, as here and in cap. lxix and xciii. and sometimes contracts them into *animadvorto*, as in cap. xlviii. l. liii. lviii. lx.

8. *In priore actione*] *Actio* here signifies an action in law, or a process before a court, which consisted of several parts; such as, 1. The summoning or citing the offending person to the court at the instance of the *actor* or *plaintiff*; and this they called *in jus vocare*. 2. The *accusatio*; or impeaching of him before the judges. After this a day was appointed for the trial; and then came on, 3. The *defensio*, or exculpation offered by the *reus*, or accused person, for his own vindication. 4. The *disceptatio causæ*, or pleading of the lawyers on both sides. 5. The *latio sententiæ*, or pronouncing of sentence. See Kennett, III. cap. xvi. xviii. xix. xx. *In priore actione* does not signify in a former process, but in the former part of this process; as the phrase *in summâ arbore* does not signify upon a very high tree, but upon the top or highest part of the tree. See cap. cvii. n. i.

9. *Vades dederat*] These *vades* were sureties or cautioners, who, at Jugurtha's request, to save Bomilcar, upon his being impeached, from going to prison, became bail, or engaged themselves under a penalty, he should appear, and answer at his trial.

ret. Et ipse paucis diebus profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italiâ decedere. Sed postquam Româ egressus est, fertur sæpe eò tacitus respiciens, postremò dixisse: URBEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMTOREM INVENERIT.

*capital punishment should be inflicted on him. And in a few days after he went off himself, being ordered by the senate to depart out of Italy. But after he was got out of Rome, often looking back to it without speaking, he is reported at last to have said:* That the city was to be sold, and would soon be ruined, if it found a chapman.

XXXVI. Interim Albinus, renovato bello, commeatum, stipendium, alia quæ militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haùd longè aberat, armis, aut deditione, aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contrà, Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias moræ caussas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere, et paullò pòst, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modò, modò pacis morâ Consulem ludificare. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haùd ignarum consilii Regis existumarent; neque ex tantâ properantiâ tam facilè tractum bellum socordiâ magis, quàm dolo crederent. Sed postquam, dilapso tempore, comitiorum dies adventabat; Albinus, Aulo fratre in castris pro Prætore relicto, Romam decessit.

XXXVI. *In the mean time Albinus upon renewing the war, makes all dispatch to transport into Africa provisions, money,* and *other things that were necessary for the soldiers, and went forthwith himself, that he might finish the war by force of arms, or surrender, or by any other means, before the elections, which time was not far off. But on the other hand, Jugurtha retarded all, and contrived now one, and then other methods of putting off the time: would promise a surrender, and then again pretend fear: would fly when the enemy pushed him, and a little after come briskly on, lest his men should be dispirited: thus he befooled the Consul, by putting off one while the war, another while the peace. And there were* some *who at that time thought Albinus was not ignorant of the King's meaning; and could not believe, after so much haste, that the war had been protracted so easily from carelessness, more than from design. But the time being spent, after the day of election approached; Albinus, leaving his brother Aulus Propraetor in the camp, went for Rome.*

XXXVII. Eâ tempestate Romæ seditionibus tribuniciis atrocitèr respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur; quæ dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Eâ morâ, in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro Prætore in castris relictum suprà diximus, aut conficiundi belli, aut terrore exercitûs ab Rege pecuniæ capiundæ, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat; magnis itineribus, hieme asperâ, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi Regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquàm et sævitiâ temporis, et opportunitate loci, neque capi, neque obsideri poterat: (nam circum murum, situm in prærupti montis extremo, planicies limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat): tamen aut simulandi gratiâ, quò Regi formidinem adderet; aut cupidine cæcus, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, alia quæ incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVII. *At that time the commonwealth was hideously embroiled by contentions among the tribunes at Rome. P. Lucullus and L. Annius, tribunes of the commons, made a struggle to continue in their office, whilst their colleagues opposed it: which dispute marred the elections of the whole year. By this delay, Aulus, who, we said above, had been left Proprætor in the camp, being put in hopes either of finishing the war, or extorting money from the King by the terror of his army, draws the soldiers, in the month of January, out of their winter-quarters upon an expedition;* and *came by great marches, in a severe season, to the town of Suthul, where the King's treasures were. Which, though it could neither be taken, nor be besieged, both by reason of the roughness of the season, and the advantageous situation of the place: (for the plain being muddy had made with the winter rain a morass round the wall,* that was *built upon the extremity of a craggy mountain:) yet either by way of feint, that he might strike terror into the king; or blinded with covetousness, he erects vineæ, casts up a mount,* and *quickly prepares other things, that were necessary for his enterprise.*

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XXXVII. *Aggerem jacere*] *Aggeres* were mounts or banks of earth thrown up, and raised to such a height, that they equalled or exceeded the height of the town-walls. From these the soldiers discharged their missive weapons upon the inhabitants, and so protected their own men from their assaults, till they had time to undermine the wall, or beat it down with engines.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha, cognitâ vanitate atque imperitiâ legati, subdolus augere amentiam: missitare supplicantîs legatos: ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique, Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, utì, relicto Suthule, in abditas regiones sese, veluti cedentem, insequeretur. Intereà per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tentabat: centuriones ducesque turmarum, partim utì transfugerent [corrumpere]; alii, signo dato, locum utì desererent. ita delicta occultiora fore. Quæ postquam ex sententiâ instruit; intempestâ nocte, de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu perculsi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium, cœlum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps: postremò fugere, an manere, tutius foret, in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullò antè corruptos dixi-

XXXVIII. *But Jugurtha, having found out the weakness and unskilfulness of the lieutenant, craftily improves his madness: sends frequently deputies with submissive messages: he himself, as if on purpose to keep out of his way, would often lead his army thro' places full of woods and by-roads. Finally he* so *buoyed up Aulus, with the hopes of a* good *bargain, that, quitting Suthul, he followed him into retired parts of the country, as if he had been flying* before him. *In the mean time, by cunning agents, he was tampering with the army day and night: some centurions and captains of troops,* [*he bribed*] *to desert him;* and *others to abandon their posts, upon a signal given. thus their treacherous conduct would be the better concealed. Which things after he had prepared to his mind; in the dead of the night, very unexpectedly he surrounds Aulas's camp with a vast number of his Numidians. The Roman soldiers, surprised with the unusual noise, some took to arms, others hid themselves, part encouraged such as were frighted; great consternation there was in all places: a vast multitude of the enemy, the sky dark by reason of night and clouds; danger on all hands: finally, uncertain*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXXVIII. 1. *Ducesque turmarum*] A *turma*, or troop, consisted of thirty horses.

2. *Periculum anceps*] *Anceps* periculum vocat duplex illud, et *in castris* a violentiâ hostium, et *extra castra* in fugâ, quæ illis minimè tuta erat.

mus, cohors una Ligurum, cum duabus turmis Thracum, et paucis gregariis militibus, transiere ad Regem: et centurio primi pili tertiæ legionis per munitionem, quam utì defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introeundi dedit; eâque Numidæ cuncti irrupere. Nostri

*it was, whether it would be safer to fly, or stay still. But of the number* of those, *who, we said a little before, had been bribed, one battalion of Ligurians, with two troops of Thracians, and a few common soldiers, went over to the King: and a centurion of the first rank belonging to the third legion, gave way for the enemy to enter by*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Centurio primi pili*] A legion, when drawn up in battle-order, consisted of three lines, placed parallel to, and behind one another, with large spaces of ground, like streets or avenues, between them. The first or foremost of these lines were called the *hastati*, from the spears which they used to fight with. The middle line were the *principes;* so called, because in ancient times, before the institution of the *hastati*, they composed the first line, and began the fight. The third or last line were the *triarii;* so called from their position, as being marshalled in the third rank; they were also called *pilani* or *pilarii*, from their weapons the *pila.* Now each of these lines were divided into ten *manipuli*, and three *manipuli, viz.* one out of the *hastati*, one out of the *principes*, and one out of the *triarii*, made a cohort: by this means the legion consisted of ten cohorts. Each *manipulus* had a commanding officer, called a *Centurion;* and sometimes two, who, according to their dignity or place of honour, were denòminated *primus, secundus, tertius, &c.* Thus the first or chief centurion among the *hastati* was named *Primus hastatus*, and the next in dignity to him *Secundus hastatus*, &c. The first among the *principes* was called *Primus princeps*, and the next *Secundus princeps*, &c. In like manner, the first among the *triarii* or *pilani* was denominated *Primus pilus* or *Primipilus*, or *Centurio primi pili*, and the next *Secundus pilus*, &c. And as the other of the *triarii* was more honourable than that of the *principes*, and the *principes* than the *hastati*, it naturally followed, that the *centurio primi pili*, was superior to all the centurions in the legion. This officer, besides his name of *Primipilus*, was known by several other honourable titles, as *Dux legionis, Præfectus legionis, Primus centurio*, and *Primus centurionum.* He had the care of the eagle or chief standard of the legion; and hence *aquilæ præesse*, is to bear the dignity of *Primipilus.* Nor was this station only honourable, but also profitable, for he had an extraordinary *stipendium* allowed him: hence Juven. Sat. xiv. v. 197. *Ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus adferat.* When he left the service, he was reputed equal to one of the *equestrian* order, and bore the title of *Primipilarius;* as those who had discharged the highest offices of the state, were styled even after *Consulares, Censorii, Prætorii, Questorii*, and *Ædilitii.* The rod called *vitis* was not particular to *Primipilus*, but common with him to all the centurions, as being the badge of their office; and hence *vitem possere*, signifies to sue for a centurion's place or post.

fœdâ fugâ, plerique abjectis armis, proxumum collem occupavere. Nox atque prædæ castrorum hostes quò minùs victoriâ uterentur, remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha, postero die cum Aulo in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferro clausum tenet; tamen se humanarum rerum memorem; si secum fœdus faceret, incolumîs omnîs sub jugum missurum: prætereà, utì diebus decem Numidiâ decederet." Quæ, quamquàm gravia et flagitii plena erant: tamen, quia mortis metu mutabant, sicutì Regi libuerat, pax convenit.

*that part of the rampart which he had got to defend: and at it all the Numidians poured in. Our men by a shameful flight, most of them throwing away their arms, got up to a neighbouring hill. Night and the plunder of the camp hindered the enemy from making a* proper *use of their victory. After this Jugurtha, in a conference with Aulus the day following, told him: 'that though he had him with his army hemmed in by famine* and *the sword; yet he* was *mindful* of the uncertainty *of human affairs;* and *if he would conclude a treaty with him, would dismiss them all, after making them pass under the yoke, without harm: and further, that within ten days he should depart out of Numidia.' Which* terms, *though they were hard and full of disgrace; yet, because they had them in exchange for the terror of death, the peace was agreed to, as the King thought fit.*

XXXIX. Sed ubi ea Romæ comperta sunt, metus atque mœror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloriâ imperii: pars insolita rerum bellicarum, timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxume qui bello sæpe præclari fuerant; quòd armatus dedecore potiùs, quàm ma-

XXXIX. *But when these things were known at Rome, fear and sorrow overspread the city: some were in pain for the honour of the empire: some unacquainted with the business of war, were in fears for their liberty: all were in a rage at Aulus, and especially those who had made a figure often in the wars; because when armed he*

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4. *Sub jugum missurum*] This *jugum* or yoke was two spears stuck in the ground, with one laid across at the top, like a gallows. It was a custom in these times for the conqueror to make the vanquished pass under it disarmed, by way of ignominy, and in token of their subjection. Florus, I. cap. xi. ascribes this invention to L. Quinctius, who was taken from his plough, made Dictator, and went against the enemy, whom he conquered, and used in this manner, as if they had been cattle.

nu, salutem quæsiverat. Ob ea Consul Albinus, ex delicto fratris, invidiam, ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de fœdere consulebat. et tamen interim exercitu supplementum scribere: ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere: denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, utì par fuerat, decernit, SUO ATQUE POPULI INJUSSU NULLUM POTUISSE FOEDUS FIERI. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne, quas paraverat, copias, secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur. nam omnis exercitus, utì convenerat, Numidiâ deductus, in provinciâ hiemabat. Postquàm eo venit: quamquàm persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternæ invidiæ animus ardebat; cognitis militibus, quos præter fugam, soluto imperio, licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copiâ rerum statuit, nihil sibi agitandum.

*had purchased safety in a way of dishonour, rather than by the sword. Upon this the Consul Albinus dreading, from the misconduct of his brother, the public odium, and danger thereby, consulted the senate concerning the treaty. and in the mean time however raises recruits for the army: sends for auxiliaries from the allies and people of Latium: and finally by all methods makes great dispatch. The senate, as it was fit, voted* that no treaty could be concluded without their's and the people's authority. *The Consul, being hindered by the tribunes of the commons from carrying with him the forces that he had raised, within a few days goes over to Africa. for all the army, as had been agreed, having been removed out of Numidia, wintered in the province. After he arrived there; though his inclination was fired to go in quest of Jugurtha, and wipe off the odium his brother had occasioned;* yet, *upon reviewing the soldiers, whom, besides the defeat, license and wantonness, under slack discipline, had debauched, he resolved on doing nothing, in this state of affairs.*

XL. Intereà Romæ C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat, "uti quæreretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha

XL. *In the mean time at Rome C. Mamilius Limetanus, tribune of the commons, prefers a bill to the people, "to appoint a commission of inquiry for the trial of those, by whose advice*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XXXIX. 1. *Ab sociis et nomine Latino*] *Socii* sunt Italici, extra Latium antiquum positi: *nomen Latium* sunt Latini.

2. *Ex copiâ rerum*] Pro conditione rerum, cum hæc rerum facies esset.

senati decreta negligisset; quique ab eo in legationibus aut imperiis pecunias accepissent: qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace aut bello cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." Huic rogationi partìm conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidiâ pericula metuentes, quoniam apertè resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur; occultè per amicos, ac maxumè per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes, incredibile memoratu est, quàm intenta fuerit, quantâque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit; magìs odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quàm curâ reipublicæ. tanta lubido in partibus. Igitur cæteris metu perculsis, M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiæ suprà docuimus, inter lætitiam plebis, et suorum fugam, trepidâ etiam tum civitate, cùm ex Mamiliâ rogatione tres quæsitores rogarentur, effecerat, utì ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quæstio exercita asperè violenterque ex rumore, et lubidine plebis. ut sæpe nobi-

*Jugurtha had slighted the orders of the senate; and* those *who in their embassies or generalships had taken money of him: and* those *who had delivered back the elephants, and deserters; as also* those *who had made agreements with the enemy concerning peace or war." Some conscious to themselves* of guilt, *others apprehensive of danger from the odium their party was under, since they could not oppose the bill openly, but were obliged to give out that this and other such things pleased them; privately raised obstructions to it by means of their friends, and especially by the people of Latium and the allies of Italy. But it is incredible to be told, how zealous the commons were, and with what eagerness they ordered, voted,* and *passed the bill; more out of hatred to the nobility, against whom this mischief was levelled, than from a concern for the public interest.* so *great was the fury of parties. Whereupon, whilst the rest were struck with terror, M. Scaurus, who, we said above, was a lieutenant-general to Bestia, amidst the exultations of the populace, and the defeat of his own* party, *the city also at that time being in great disorder, whereas three commissioners were appointed by Mamilius's bill,* Scaurus, I say, *procured himself to*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XL. *Ex rumore*] Prout quisque conscius delictorum famâ ferebatur, ita, in eum animadvertebatur.

litatem, sic eâ tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

*be chosen one of that number. But the commission was executed with great severity and violence, in conformity to vulgar report, and the humour of the people. thus at that time insolence seized the populace upon their success, as it often had the nobility.*

XLI. Cæterùm mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romæ ortus, otio et abundantiâ earum rerum, quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et senatus Romanus placidè modestèque inter se rempublicam tractabant: neque gloriæ, neque dominationis certamen inter civîs erat: metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus discessit: scilicet ea, quæ secundæ res amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere. Ita, quod in advorsis rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque fuit. Namque cœpere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere: sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partîs abstracta sunt. respublica, quæ media fuerat, dilacerata. Cæterùm nobilitas factione magìs pollebat: plebis vis soluta atque dis-

XLI. *Now the fashion of popular parties and senate factions, and all the mischievous practices ensuing, took rise at Rome a few years before, from idleness, and plenty of those things which mankind account the chiefest* blessings. *For before the destruction of Carthage, the people and senate of Rome managed the public affairs jointly, in harmony and moderation: among the citizens there was contesting neither for dignity, nor superiority; the fear of their enemies kept the city in good behaviour. But when that dread went off their spirits; wantonness and pride, the things to wit, that prosperity affects, came in fashion. Thus the peace, which they had wished for in adversity, after they got it, was more pernicious and destructive* than war itself. *For the nobility began to turn their power, the people their liberty into licentiousness; every one pilfering, seizing,* and *snatching for himself. Thus all things were rent betwixt the two parties. the commonwealth, that had been in the middle, was torn in pieces. But the nobility in their party were more prevalent: the power of the com-*

persa, in multitudine, minùs poterat: paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur: penes eosdem ærarium, provinciæ, magistratus, gloriæ, triumphique erant: populus militiâ atque inopiâ urguebatur; prædas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Intereà parentes, aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ità cùm potentiâ avaritia, sine modo modestiâque invadere; polluere et vastare omnia; nihil pensi, neque sancti habere, quoad semed ipsa præcipitavit. Nam ubi primùm [ex nobilitate] reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustæ potentiæ anteponerent; moveri civitas, et permixtio civilis, quasi discessio terræ, oriri cœpit.

*mons being loose and divided, was of less weight, notwithstanding their numbers: affairs were managed in peace and war by the direction of a few: the treasury, provinces, places of power, glory, and triumphs were at the disposal of the same persons: the populace were oppressed by service in the army and by want; the generals, with a few* of the grandees, *made prize of the spoils of war. In the mean while the parents or little children of the soldiers, as any of them was neighbour to a person of great interest, were forced from their habitations. Thus avarice in conjunction with power broke in without measure or moderation; ravaging and wasting all; accounting nothing serious or sacred, till it overthrew itself. For so soon as there were found* some [*among the nobility*], *who preferred true glory before unjust power; the city was put in a ferment, and civil distraction, like a disjointing of the earth, began to arise.*

XLII. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Graccus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis béllis multum reipublicæ addiderant, vindicare plebem in liberta-

XLII. *For after Tiberius and C. Graccus, whose ancestors in the Carthaginian and other wars, had much advanced the commonwealth, began to assert the liberties of the com-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLI. 1. *Dispersa, in multitudine minùs poterat*] Hæc est MSS. omnium lectio, quam pessimo consilio, et magno sententiæ malo, mutârunt in *atque in multitudinem dispersa:* dixit *in multitudine,* pro *quamvis multi essent.*

2. *Avaritia, sine modo*] *Modo* is not in Cortius's edition, nor to be found amongst his *errata;* but as it is in all the other editions of Sallust, and not at all taken notice of by Cortius in his notes, we may conclude that it has been left out by mistake; and therefore I have restored it.

tem, et paucorum scelera patefacere cœpere: nobilitas noxia, atque eò perculsa, modò per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Graccorum actionibus obviàm ierat: et primò Tiberium, deìn, paucos post annos, eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco ferro necaverant. Et sanè Graccis, cupidine victoriæ, haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est, quàm malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur eâ victoriâ nobilitas ex lubidine suâ usa, multos mortalîs ferro aut fugâ exstinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris, quàm potentiæ, addidit. Quæ res plerumque magnas civitatis pessum dedit: dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo; et victos acerbiùs ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatìm, aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus, quàm res, maturiùs deserat. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

*mons, and to expose the villainies of the few* grandees: *the nobility being guilty, and therefore under terrible apprehensions, opposed the proceedings of the Gracci, sometimes by means of the allies and people of Latium, sometimes by the Roman knights, whom the hopes of partnership had drawn off from the* interest of the *commons: and first they cut off by the sword Tiberius, and then, a few years after, Caius entering upon the same course, the one a tribune, the other one of the three commissioners for planting colonies, as also M. Fulvius Flaccus. And indeed the spirit of the Gracci, from a keen desire of success, was not kept under due regulation. But to a good man it is preferable to be baffled, than triumph over ill usage by wicked measures. Wherefore the nobility improving this success, according to their own inclination, destroyed great numbers of men by sword or banishment; and rendered themselves more terrible than powerful for the future. A thing that has often ruined mighty states: whilst the one party endeavours to master the other at any rate, and wreck their vengeance too rigorously upon the vanquished. But if I should propose to descant upon the fury of parties, and all the practices of the city, particularly, or according to their full extent, time would fail me sooner than matter. Wherefore I return to my purpose.*

XLIII. Post Auli fœ-

XLIII. *After the treaty of*

dus, exercitusque nostri fœdam fugam, Q. Metellus et M. Silanus Consules designati [provincias] inter se paraverunt: Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro, et quamquàm advorso populi partium, famâ tamen æquabili et inviolatâ. Is ubi primùm magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collegâ ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur, diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, præsidia undique arcessere: arma, tela, equos, cætera instrumenta militiæ parare; ad hoc, commeatum affatìm; denique omnia, quæ bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Cæterùm ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, Reges ultrò, auxilia mittere. postremò, omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque, ex sententiâ omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur, magnâ spe civium, cùm propter bonas artîs, tum maxumè quòd advorsum divitias animum invictum gerebat: et avaritiâ magistratuum

*Aulus, and the scandalous defeat of our army, the Consuls elect, Q. Metellus and M. Silanus, settled [the provinces] betwixt themselves: and Numidia fell to Metellus, a warm man, and though an enemy to the popular party, yet of a fair and untainted character. As soon as he entered upon his office, reckoning all other things* common *to him with his colleague, he applied his thought to the war, which he was to carry on. Wherefore putting no great confidence in the old army, he levies soldiers, calls in assistance from all parts: provides arms, weapons, horses,* and *other implements of war; besides, provisions in great plenty; and finally, all things that use to be of service in a war which is to be managed different ways, and needs many things. And to help forward the affair, the allies and people of Latium by authority of the senate,* and foreign *princes of their own accord, sent in troops: and finally the whole city exerted itself with the utmost vigour. Wherefore, all things being prepared and regulated to his mind, he sets out for Numidia, the citizens being in great hopes* of success, *as well because of his excellent accomplishments, as especially because he had a soul proof against money: and before*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLIII. 1. *Famâ tamen æquabili*] *h. e.* æquali apud nobilitatem et plebem.

2. *Bella vario*] *Varium* bellum est, quod non uno prælio, aut unâ expugnatione conficitur, sed cujus multæ sunt formæ.

ante id tempus in Numidiâ nostræ opes contusæ, hostiumque auctæ erant.

XLIV. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur Sp. Albini pro Consule, iners, imbellis, nequè periculi, neque laboris patiens, linguâ, quàm manu, promtior, prædator ex sociis, et ipse præda hostium, sine imperio et modestiâ habitus. Ità imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis, quàm ex copiâ militum auxilii, aut spei bonæ accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquàm et æstivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventi civium animos intentos putabat: non priùs bellum adtingere, quàm, majorum disciplinâ, milites laborare coegisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitûsque clade perculsus, postquàm decreverat non egredi provinciâ, quantum temporis æstivorum in imperio fuit, plerùmque milites stativis castris habebat: nisi cùm odos, aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque more militari

*this time our forces in Numidia had been ruined, and those of the enemy encreased, by the avarice of the officers.*

XLIV. *But after he arrives in Africa, the army of Sp. Albinus the Proconsul is delivered up to him, inactive, feeble, capable of enduring neither danger nor fatigue, readier with their tongues than their hands, plunderers of the allies, and themselves a prey to the enemy, having been kept without discipline and due restraint. Thus the new general got more vexation from their vicious habits, than help or good hope from the number of soldiers. Metellus, though the lateness of the elections had shortened the time of the summer campaign, and he did suppose the minds of the citizens* at Rome *would be impatient in waiting the issue, yet resolved not to enter upon the war, till he had obliged the soldiers to undergo a course of exercises, according to the discipline of their ancestors. For Albinus, quite dismayed with the defeat of his brother Aulus and the army, after he had determined not to stir out of the province, generally kept the soldiers, such time of the summer campaign as he was in command, in standing camps: unless when stench, or*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLIV. 1. *Laborare coëgisset*] The labours, works, or exercises here chiefly meant, are enumerated by our author in the following chapter, after the words *modum statuisse*.

vigiliæ deducebantur: utì cuique lubebat, ab signis aberat. Lixæ permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum prædas certantes agere: eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio, et aliis talibus: prætereà, frumentum publicè datum vendere, panem in dies mercari: postremò, quæcumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviæ luxuriæque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia ampliùs.

*want of forage obliged him to change his place. But neither was the watch kept according to the military form: every one strolled from his standard at pleasure. The retainers mingling with the soldiers, were straggling abroad day and night, and in their rambles wasted the country, forced gentlemen's houses,* and, *emulous to outdo one another made plunder of cattle and slaves: and exchanged them with the merchants for foreign wine, and other such things: besides they would sell the corn allowed them by the government, and buy bread every day: in short, whatever scandalous effects of idleness and luxury can be expressed or imagined, were all in that army, and more too.*

XLV. Sed in eâ difficultate Metellum non minùs, quàm in rebus hostilibus, magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior; tantâ temperantiâ inter ambitionem sævitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviæ sustulisse, ‘ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet;

XLV. *But I find Metellus to have been no less a great and wise man under this hardship, than in his conduct against the enemy; having behaved with so much evenness betwixt sneaking to gain favour* among the soldiers, *and cruelty. For in the first place, by a proclamation, he took off the supports of idleness,* ordering, ‘*that nobody should sell bread, or any other dressed victuals in the*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Vigiliæ deducebantur*] *Deducere,* quasi *diducere* est dispartiri, et suis quasque locis adtribuere.

3. *Lixæ*] The *Lixæ* were a set of fellows who attended the camp for service, and were mostly washers, bakers, and cooks, for dressing victuals; or buffoons or players for the entertainment and diversion of the officers and persons of note in the army. But they having a great many of these *Lixæ* in the camp, was inconsistent with the ancient strict discipline of the Romans, which obliged the common soldiers to grind their own corn, bake their own bread, dress their own victuals, and be servants in every particular to themselves.

nè lixæ exercitum sequerentur; nè miles gregarius in castris, nevè in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet;' cæteris artè modum statuisse. præterea, transvorsis itineribus, quotidiè castra movere, juxta ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossâ munire; vigilias crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis circumire: item in agmine, in primis modò, modò in postremis, sæpè in medio adesse, nè quispiam ordine egrederetur, utì cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis, magis quàm vindicando, exercitum brevi confirmavit.

*camp; that retainers should not attend the army; that a common soldier should not have in the camp, nor upon a march, a servant or beast of burden;'* and *to others he prescribed regulations in a strict manner. besides, he would shift the place of his camp daily by marches to the right and left,* and *fortify it by a rampart and ditch, just as if the enemy had been at hand; he kept close watch, and he himself with his lieutenants went the rounds: in like manner upon a march, he would be sometimes in the van, sometimes in the rear,* and *oftentimes in the main body,* to see *that none quitted their rank, that they marched in a body with their standards,* and *that the soldiers carried their provision and arms. Thus in a short time he reformed the army, by restraining them from disorders, rather than by punishing.*

XLVI. Intereà Jugurtha, ubi quæ Metellus agebat, ex nunciis accepit; simul de innocentiâ ejus

XLVI. *In the mean time Jugurtha, when he understood from his spies what Metellus was doing; and withal having*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLV. 1. *Cæteris artè modum statuisse*] Cæteris, *qui non essent gregarii, arctum servorum jumentorumque numerum permisit; præfinivit, quis quotque haberet.* N. B. *Artè* is not the ablative from *ars*, but an adverb, the same with *arctè*.

2. *Ipse cum legatis circumire*] In the Roman camp watches were kept at each of the four gates, and these were relieved every three hours; so that there were four sets in the night. And, to keep the men on the watch strictly to their duty, there was a *circuitio vigilum*, or a visiting of the watch, performed four times every night. This, for a long time, was the business of the Tribunes; at length they were allowed to execute this piece of their office by deputies; and at last a set of men were appointed for the purpose, called *circuitores*. This *circuitio* Metellus and his lieutenants take the trouble of themselves.

3. *Exercitum brevi confirmavit*] Confirmat exercitum, qui eum *firmum* reddit adversus hostem.

certior Romæ factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demùm veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad Consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodò ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam anteà experimentis cognitum erat, genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum. Itaque legatos alium ab alio divorsos adgreditur; ac paullatìm tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo persuadet, 'utì Jugurtham maxumè vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent;' cæterùm palàm, quæ ex voluntate forent, Regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus, intento atque infesto exercitu, in Numidiam procedit: ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris: ex oppidis et mapalibus præfecti Regis obvii procedebant,

*been informed at Rome of his integrity, begun to despair of his affairs, and then at length endeavoured to make a surrender in good earnest. Wherefore he dispatches ambassadors to the Consul with an humble message, to beg life only for himself and his children* and *give up every thing else to the Roman people. But Metellus had found by experience before now, the nation of the Numidians* to be *faithless, of a fickle temper,* and *fond of change. Wherefore he accosts the ambassadors apart one from another; and sifting them by degrees, after he found them for his purpose, by large promises he persuades them, 'to deliver up to him Jugurtha alive, if possible, but if that did not succeed, dead:' but openly orders, what his pleasure was, to be reported to the King. A few days after he marches into Numidia with a brisk and resolute army; where, contrary to the appearance* usual in the time *of war, the country-houses* were *full of people, the cattle and labourers upon the fields: the King's governors came out of the towns and villages to meet him, ready*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLVI. 1. *De innocentiâ ejus*] By *innocentiâ* in this place is meant, that quality or virtue that rendered him proof against bribes, and made him reject all such offers with scorn and contempt.

2. *Cum suppliciis*] Messengers who went to sue for peace, carried in their hand a branch of olive or laurel, which they called *supplicia.* Hence Virg. Æneid vii. v. 153.

> *Centum* oratores *augusta ad mœnia regis*
> *Ire jubet,* ramis *velatos* Palladis *omnes:*
> *Donaque ferre viro, pacemque exposcere Teucris.*

See cap. cviii. n. 1.

parati, frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremò omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minùs, sed paritèr, ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, latè explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui credere, et insidiis locum tentare. Itaque ipse, cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delectâ manu, apud primos erat; in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat: in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et præfectis cohortium dispertiverat, utì cum his permixti velites, quacumque accederent, equitatus hostium propulsarent. Nam in Jugurthà tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiæ erat, utì, absens an præsens, pacem an bellum gerens, perniciosior esset, in incerto haberetur.

*to furnish him with corn, carry his provisions, in short to do every thing that should be ordered. Metellus not a bit the less for that, but equally, as if the enemy had been at hand, marched with his army in a posture of defence, sent his scouts into all quarters round, imagined those tokens of submission a sham, and that they sought an opportunity to trepan him. Wherefore he himself, with* some *battalions clear of baggage, and a picked body of slingers and archers, marched in the van; in the rear took charge his lieutenant-general C. Marius with the horse: the auxiliary horse he distributed to the two flanks under the command of the tribunes of the legions and the commanders of the battalions, that the light-armed foot mixed with them might be able to repulse the enemy's horse, in what quarter soever they should make their attack. For Jugurtha was a man of so much subtlety, and so well acquainted with the country and the art of war, that it was hard to say, whether he was more dangerous, when absent or present, in peace or war.*

XLVII. Erat haud longè ab eo itinere, quo Me-

XLVII. *There was not far from the rout in which Metellus*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Commeatum portare*] *Commeatus* propriè, quod cum agmine incedit, exercitûs necessitatibus inservit: deinde pro cibariis aliisque necessariis positus est. Eum parati erant portare; quia levare partìm milites labore, partìm jumenta volebant.

4. *Insidiis locum tentare*] Credebat quosdam homines, illum illosve, qui deditionis signa dederant, insidiis locum tentare.

5. *Permixti velites*] *Velites* in subsidium equitum inventi primum, quod essent levi armaturâ, et facilè illis sese adjungerent. Propriè illi erant, qui in equos equitum insilirent, et, cum ad hostem appropinquâssent, celeri saltu descenderent. See cap. cv. n. 4.

tellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxumè celebratum; ubi et incolere, et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc Consul, simul tentandi gratiâ, si paterent opportunitates loci, præsidium imposuit; prætereà imperavit frumentum, et alia quæ bello usui forent: ratus id, quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatum [juvaturum exercitum] etiam paratis rebus munimento fore. Inter hæc negotia, Jugurtha impensiùs modò legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare; præter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, utì priores, Consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: Regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere, neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha, ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvortit; quippe cui verbis pax nun-

*marched, a town of the Numidians called Vaga, the most frequented mart for merchant-goods of the whole kingdom; where many people of Italy used both to reside and traffick. Here the Consul, to try also if the places of strength would submit to him, placed a garrison; and further made a demand of corn, and other things that were of use for the war: supposing, as it was natural to do, that the great number of merchants and vast resort of people [would be serviceable to his army] would also be a security to the acquisitions he had made. During these transactions, Jugurtha, again in a more importunate manner sends deputies with a submissive message, begs peace;* and *resigns every thing to Metellus, except his own and his children's lives. Whom the Consul likewise sent home, as the former ones, under engagements to betray* their master: *he neither refused nor promised the peace to the King that he sued for, and in the mean while waited* the execution of *the messengers' promises.*

XLVIII. *Jugurtha, when he compared Metellus's words with his actions, and found himself attacked by his own stratagems; for peace was pretended*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLVII. 1. *Forum rerum venalium*] *Forum* propriè est locus, ubi multi homines prodeuntes conveniunt: hinc urbes, ubi vel juris, vel mercium caussâ frequentiores erant conventus, *fora* dicta sunt.

2. *Opportunitates loci*] Munitiones, turres, arcem, et quæ alia oppidum tutabantur, *opportunitates loci* vocat.

*Et commeatum*] *Commeatum* accipio de iis, qui frequentes Vagam commearent.

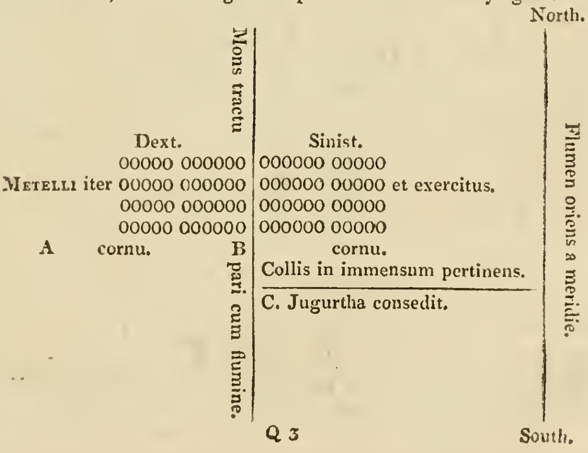
ciabatur, cæterùm re bellum asperrumum erat: urbs maxuma alienata, ager hostus cognitus, animi popularium tentati. coactus rerum necessitudine, statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere, in spem victoriæ adductus ex opportunitate loci, quas maxumas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in eâ parte Numidiæ, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons fermè millia passuum xx. tractu pari, vastus ab naturâ et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi

*to him in words, but in fact there was a very smart war: a principal city taken from him, the country* now *well known to the enemy, the affections of his people solicited. being obliged by the necessity of his affairs, resolves to dispute it by force of arms. Wherefore having spied out the march of the enemy,* and *being buoyed up to hopes of victory from the advantage of situation, he raises as many forces of all sorts as he could, and by private byroads gets before Metellus's army. There was in that part of Numidia, which Adherbal, upon the division thereof, had got possession of, a river rising from the south, by name Muthul; from which a mountain, in a parallel situation, was distant about twenty miles, wild both in itself and* in respect

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLVIII. 1. *Tractu pari*] Cum decurrente flumine, puta.

3. *Ex eo medioquasi collis oriebatur*] To assist the reader's imagination in comprehending the situation of the mountain, the river, the hill, and Metellus's route, I shall here give a representation of them by figure.



collis oriebatur, in immensum pertinens, vestitus oleastro ac mirtetis, aliisque generibus arborum, quæ humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planicies deserta penuriâ aquæ; præter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

of its *not being cultivated by man: now from the middle of it a kind of hill took its rise, reaching a vast way, covered with wild olive and myrtle, and other sorts of trees, which are apt to grow in a dry and sandy* soil of *ground. But the interjacent plain was desolate for want of water; except the parts bordering upon the river: those were overgrown with brushwood,* and *full of cattle and inhabitants.*

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem, transvorso itinere, porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha, extenuatâ suorum acie, consedit: elephantis, et parti copiarum pedestrium, Bomilcarem præfecit, eumque edocet, quæ ageret; ipse propior montem, cum omni equitatu pedites delectos collocat: dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, 'uti memores pristinæ virtutis et victoriæ, seque regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritiâ defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos anteà victos sub jugum miserant: ducem illis, non animum mutatum; quæ ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis

XLIX. *Upon this hill then, which we observed lay in a cross direction* to the mountain, *Jugurtha sat down with his army stretched out to a great length: he set Bomilcar over the elephants and part of the infantry, and instructs him what to do; he himself, nigher the mountain, posts the choicest of the foot, with all the horse; and then riding round the several troops and companies, he begs and beseeches them, 'that, mindful of their former bravery and success, they would defend themselves and his dominions from the avarice of the Romans: that the conflict was to be with those whom formerly they had conquered* and *made to pass under the yoke: that their general, not their spirit, was changed; that all* advantages *had been secured by him to his soldiers that*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XLIX. 1. *Turmas atque manipulos*] Loquitur ad morem exercitus Romani, in quo *turma* numerus triginta *equitum*. *Manipulus* propriè de *peditibus*, eratque exercitûs pars minima, quæ unum signum sequebatur. Illud signum antiquissimis temporibus erat manipulus fœni, unde nomen tractum esse existimat. Ovid III. Fast v. 118.

2, *Quæ ab imperatore decuerint*] Puta *provideri*.

provisa; locum superiorem, utì prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent. proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere: illum diem aut omnîs labores et victorias confirmaturum, aut maxumarum ærumnarum initium fore.' Ad hoc viritìm, utì quemque, ob militare facinus, pecuniâ aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare: postremò, pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando, alium alio modo excitare: cùm interim Metellus, ignarus hostium, monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicitur. primò dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet, (nam inter virgulta equi Numidæque consederant, neque planè occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset: cùm naturâ loci, tum dolo ipsi

*ought to be by a commander,* namely, *the higher ground, that they should engage fully apprised of the design with such as dreamed nothing of it,* and *not a smaller number with a greater, or persons of no experience with those better skilled in war. and therefore they should be ready and resolute upon a signal given, to attack the Romans: that that day would either crown all their labours and victories, or be the beginning of the greatest misery.' Moreover, any he had raised to riches or honour for their gallant behaviour in the war, he put in mind of his kindness man by man, and often pointed them out to others: in short, he roused the courage of one in one way, and another in another, by promising, threatening,* or *entreating, according to their several dispositions: whilst in the mean time Metellus, not aware of the enemy, is seen coming down the mountain with his army,* who was *at first in doubts, what the unusual appearance could mean, (for the Numidians, both horse and foot, had taken their place among the bushes, and were not quite covered, by reason of the lowness of the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Prudentes cum imperitis*] Prudentes, i. e. *periti loci;* imperitis, i. e. *ignaris locis;* et simul *prudentes,* h. e. scientes prælium esse committendum, et *imperitis* contra, quibus prælium erat eo loco inopinatum.

4. *Equi Numidæque*] h. e. equites peditesque Numidæ. Sic sæpissimè *equi virique,* ut hoc pedites, illud equites denotet. Flor. II. cap. vii. *Consul a terris, omnia* equis virisque *quatiebat.*

5. *Incerti, quidnam esset*] *incerti* propriè posuit pro iis, qui haud certò cognoscuntur, propriè, inquam, et elegantèr. Est enim a verbo *cerno,* participium passivum *certus:* is qui certò cognitus est. Sic propriè *amicus certus,* ab antiquissimis, pro *spectato,* certè *cognito* ponitur.

atque signa militaria obscurati,) dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen constitit. ibi commutatis ordinibus, in dextero latere, quod proxumum hostis erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit; inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit; equitatum omnem in cornibus locat; ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus, aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transvorsis principiis, in planum deducit.

*shrubs, and yet not appearing so as to discover what they were: themselves and their standards being concealed both by the nature of the place, and also on design,) but then quickly perceiving the stratagem, he stops the army for a little, then altering the disposition thereof, upon the right side, which was next the enemy, he formed the front with three several bodies of reserves; distributes the slingers and archers among the companies of foot; places all the horse in the wings; and having made a short speech to the soldiers as the time allowed, he leads down the army into the plain, in the same order as he had drawn it up, the front being returned into the flank.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Agmen constitit*] Cortius, after a long dissertation on the verb *constitit*, concludes, that it is sometimes taken actively, and to be understood so in this place. His words are, *Nam et* sisto, *est stare facio, si ita loqui liceat; ergo* consisto *est, curo ut omnes desistant ab eundo, ut omnes stent.* Sic Cæs. l. Civ. cap. xli. *Potestate factâ Afranius copias eduxit, et in medio colle sub castris* constitit.

7. *Triplicibus subsidiis*] Metellus's army, as now ranged, consisted of four lines; the first of which was that next to Jugurtha, and is called *prima acies*, or *principia*; the other three lines, that were drawn up behind the first, and which here come under the name of *subsidia* or *reserves*, we may imagine to have been the *hastati*, the *principes*, and the *triarii*.

8. *Inter manipulos*] In forming any of the four lines mentioned just now, there was left an empty space betwixt one *manipulus* and another; and these vacant spaces Metellus fills up with the archers and slingers.

9. *Transvorsis principiis*] The meaning of these words may be thus illustrated. Imagine, that, in the figure annexed to note 2. of the preceding chapter, the length of Metellus's army, as drawn up upon the mountain, reached from A to B; in which position as they all stand with their faces to the south, the right wing will be at A. and the left at B; and as they are drawn up in four lines; the southermost of these lines will be the *prima acies*. Now imagine, that all of them, without altering their place or station, be only made to front another way, that is to turn their faces from the south to the east, and then in this order pursue their march down the mountain, with their right side towards Jugurtha: by this means, the line that made the *prima acies*, as they stood marshalled on the

L. Sed ubi Numidas quietos, neque colle degredi animadvortit, veritus, ex anni tempore, et inopiâ aquæ, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum præmisit ad flumen utì locum castris antècaperet: existumans, hostîs crebro impetu et transvorsis præliis iter suum remoraturos, et, quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere: Marium post principia habere: ipse cum sinistræ alæ equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos prætergressum videt, præsidio quasi duûm millium peditum montem occupat, quà

L. *But when he observed the Numidians quiet, and not stirring from the hill, fearing, from the season of the year, and the scarcity of water, lest his army should be distressed by thirst, he dispatched forward to the river his lieutenant-general Rutilius, with the cohorts clear of baggage, and part of the cavalry, to secure a place for his camp: as supposing the enemy would retard his march by frequent attacks and charges on his flank, and, since they had but little hopes in their arms, would endeavour to distress his soldiers by fatigue and thirst. After this he advanced leisurely, as he had come down the mountain, in a suitableness to his circumstances and situation: he kept Marius behind the first line: he himself was with the cavalry of the left wing, who were* now *become the foremost in the march. But Jugurtha, when he sees that the rear of Metellus was got by the first of his men, seizes upon the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

mountain, will be the right flank in the march, and the horse that composed the left wing on the mountain, will now lead the van, or be the foremost in the march: and this is what our author intends by the phrase *transvorsis principiis.*

L. 1. *Lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos*] Tentaturos, ut lassitudine et siti deficeret exercitus.

2. *Marium post principia habere*] Sallust speaks here in terms accommodated not to an army on march, but to one drawn up in battle-order. The meaning is, that the station assigned to Marius was in neither of the wings; or to speak in terms adapted to a march, neither in the van nor rear, but in the main body, betwixt the *hastati* and the *prima acies.*

3. *Primos suos prætergressum*] By *primos* our author means that part of Jugurtha's army which the Romans first passed by, *viz.* those who lay next the mountain, as at C, in the figure of note 2. cap. xlviii.

Metellus descenderat: nè fortè cedentibus advorsariis receptui, ac pòst munimento foret. dein repentè signo dato, hostîs invadit. Numidæ alii postremos cædere; pars a sinistrâ ac dextrâ tentare; infensi adesse atque instare; omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare: quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant, ludificati incerto prælio, ipsi modò eminùs sauciabantur, neque contrà feriundi, aut manum conferendi copia erat. antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi cœperat, non confertìm, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius aliò quàm maxumè divorsi. Ita numero priores, si ab persequendo hostîs deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant: sin opportunior fugæ collis, quàm campi fuerant, eà verò consueti Numidarum equi facilè inter virgulta evadere: nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebat.

*mountain, where Metellus had gone down, with a body of about two thousand foot: lest perhaps it should be a place of retreat, and afterwards a security to his enemy upon their giving ground, and then suddenly giving the signal, he falls upon the enemy. The Numidians slaughtered some of them, those in the rear: part made attacks on the left and right: they charged and pushed home with great fury: in all quarters they disordered the ranks of the Romans; of whom even those who opposed the enemy with more undaunted courage, being disconcerted by this irregular way of fighting, received wounds themselves from a distance, nor had they access to return the blow, or come to close fight. the cavalry having been instructed by Jugurtha beforehand, whenever a troop of Romans began to pursue them, fled off, not in a body, nor to one place, but one one way, and another another, dispersed as much as possible. And so being superior in numbers, if they could not discourage the enemy from pursuing them, they attacked them, upon their being divided, in rear or flank: and if the hill was more convenient for their flight than the plain, the horses of the Numidians being used to it, easily made their escape among the bushes: the roughness of the ground, and want of acquaintance with it, incumbered our's.*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Ipsi modò——sauciabantur*] Et pronomen *ipsi* et particula *modò* aptum est, ad notandum Romanos solummodò, non hostes sauciatos esse, et utrumque alios elegantèr excludit.

LI. Cæterùm facies totius negotii varia, incerta, fœda, atque miserabilis; dispersi a suis, pars cedere, alii insequi; neque signa, neque ordines observare; ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare: arma tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti; nihil consilio, neque imperio agi: fors omnia regere. Itaque multum die processerat, cùm etiam tùm eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et æstu languidis, Metellus ubi videt Numidas minùs instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor advorsum pedites hostium collocat. eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, 'nè deficerent, neù paterentur hostîs fugientes vincere: neque illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum, quò cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita.' Sed ne Jugurtha quidem intereà quietus; circumire, hortari, renovare prælium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia; subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminùs pugnando retinere.

LI. *But the appearance of the whole action was full of varieties, confused, dismal, and miserable: being scattered from their own body, some of them fled, others pursued; they neither kept by their standards nor companies; where danger overtook any one, there he made a stand, and repulsed it: arms, weapons, horses, men, enemies,* and *Romans were all jumbled together; nothing was done by conduct or command: chance ruled all. Wherefore much of the day was spent, when as yet the event was uncertain. Finally, whilst all were faint with the fatigue and heat, Metellus, when he perceives the Numidians to abate of their vigour, draws by degrees his soldiers into one place, restores their ranks, and posts four legionary cohorts against the enemy's foot: of which a great part being weary, were set down upon the rising grounds. At the same time he entreated* and *encouraged his soldiers, 'not to faint, nor suffer the flying enemy to get the victory;* telling them *they had no camp, nor any fortification, to which upon flying they could retreat: all depended on their arms.' But neither indeed in the mean time was Jugurtha idle; he rode about, encouraged* his troops, *renewed the battle, and with a picked body tried all methods; relieved his own men, pressed hard upon such of the enemy as wavered;* and, *by distant fighting, kept in play* those *whom he found were firm.*

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant: ipsi pares, cæterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus advorsus: Jugurthæ alia omnia, præter milites, opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intelligunt, neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri; et jam die vesper erat; advorso colle, sicuti præceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco, Numidæ fusi fugatique, pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Intereà Bomîlcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium præfectum ab Jugurthâ suprà diximus, ubi eum Rutilius prætergressus est, paullatim suos in æquum locum deducit: ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quò præmissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, utì res postulabat, aciem exornat: neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam, et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthæ prælio clamorem augeri; ve-

LII. *In this manner the two generals*, both *very great men, struggled with one another: equally matched in their own persons, but their helps unequal. For Metellus had the better soldiers*, but *the disadvantageous ground: except the soldiers, all things else were fairly on Jugurtha's side. Finally the Romans, when they find there was no place of retreat for them, nor an opportunity of fighting given by the enemy; and now it was the evening of the day; make their way up the hill, as they had been ordered. The Numidians, losing their ground, were routed and put to flight, few were slain; nimbleness of* heels, *and the country's being unknown to the enemy, saved most of them. In the mean time Bomilcar, who we said above, was set over the elephants and part of the infantry by Jugurtha, after Rutilius passed by him, leads down his men leisurely to the level ground: and, whilst the lieutenant marches on in all haste to the river, whither he had been dispatched, he undisturbed marshals his force, as the case required: nor does he neglect to procure intelligence what the enemy was doing, and in what place. After he was advised that Rutilius was now encamped, and under no apprehensions* of an e-

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LII. 1. *Quid ubique hostis ageret*] *Quid ageret, et ubi id ageret,* propriè debet exponi; h. e. quid utrobique et quibus quidque locis ageret. See Cat. cap. xxi. n. 1.

2. *Animo vacuum*] Animo *vacuus* dicitur qui est securus, et nihil magnoperè animo propositum habens.

ritus, ne legatus, cognitâ re, laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam, diffidens virtuti militum arctè statuerat, quò hostium itineri officeret, latiùs porrigit; eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

nemy, *and withal that the shouting increased from the place where Jugurtha was engaged; fearing lest the lieutenant, upon discovering the matter, should* return and *be a relief to his friends in distress, he extends his forces in a pretty wide manner, that he might obstruct the enemy's passage, which* at first, *distrusting the courage of the soldiers, he had drawn up in close array; and in this posture advances towards the camp of Rutilius.*

LIII. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvortunt; nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat. Et primò rati humum aridam vento agitari: pòst ubi æquabilem manere, et, sicuti acies movebatur, magìs magìsque adpropinquare vident, cognitâ re, properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicutì imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propiùs ventum, utrìmque magno clamore concurrunt. Numidæ tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant; postquam impeditos ramis arborum, atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt; ac plerique, abjectis armis, collis, aut noctis, quæ jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, nu-

LIII. *The Romans unexpectedly perceive a great cloud of dust; for the field being overgrown with shrubs intercepted the view* on the surface. *And at first they imagined it to be the dry ground swept by the wind: afterward when they observed it to continue constant, and approach nearer and nearer, as the army advanced, understanding the matter, they take to arms in all haste, and draw up before the camp, as they were ordered. Afterward, when they were come nearer, they engage on both sides with a mighty shout. The Numidians only made a stand, whilst they reckoned upon the aid of their elephants; after they saw them entangled amongst the branches of the trees, and thus separated* and *inclosed* by the enemy, *they take to their heels: and most of them throwing away their arms, got off safe by the advantage of the hill, or the night, which was now come on. Four elephants were taken, all*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Laborantibus*] *Laborantes* dicuntur, qui in magno periculo versantur, unde semet ægrè expediunt.

mero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani, quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et prælio fessi lætique erant; tamen, quòd Metellus ampliùs opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviàm procedunt. Nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi, neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primò, obscurâ nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul, et tumultum facere: et penè imprudentiâ admissum facinus miserabile, nî utrìmque præmissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur, pro metu, repentè gaudium exortum, milites alius alium læti adpellant, acta edocent atque audiunt: sua quisque fortia facta ad cœlum ferre. Quippe res humanæ ita sese habent: in victoriâ vel ignavis gloriari licet; advorsæ res etiam bonos detrectant.

*the rest, forty in number, slain. But the Romans, though fatigued with their march, and the work of incamping, and the battle, and in transports of joy too* for their success; *yet, as Metellus staid beyond their expectation, advance to meet him in good order and with great circumspection. For the wiles of the Numidians admitted of no slackness or remissness. And at first, the night being dark, when now they were not far asunder, by their noise they occasioned both some fright and bustle too to one another, as if an enemy had been approaching: and a woful accident was like to have happened through ignorance, but that* some *horse dispatched forward by both parties discovered the matter. Whereupon, instead of fear, all on a sudden joy took place, the soldiers merrily congratulate one another, relate and hear* by turns *their* several *exploits: every one extols his own gallant actions to the skies. For such is the condition of human affairs: upon victory even cowards may boast; ill success casts reproach even on the brave.*

LIV. Metellus in îsdem castris quatriduo moratus, saucios cum curâ reficit, meritos in præliis more militiæ donat, universos in concione laudat, atque agit gratias; hortatur, 'ad cætera, quæ levia sunt, parem animum gerant: pro victoriâ satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores

LIV. *Metellus continuing four days in the same camp, with care recovers the wounded, bestows presents, according to the military custom, on those who had distinguished themselves in the battles, commends them all in a speech, and gives them thanks; advises them, 'to keep up the same spirit for the rest of their work, which was*

pro prædâ fore.' Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium, aut quid agitaret; cum, paucisne esset, an exercitum haberet; ut sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa, et naturâ munita receperat: ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis, quàm belli, cultorem. Id eâ gratiâ eveniebat, quòd præter regios equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fugâ Regem sequitur; quò cujusque animus fert, eò discedunt: neque id flagitium militiæ ducitur: ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus, ubi videt Regis etiam tum animum ferocem; bellum renovari, quod, nisi ex illius lubidine, geri posset; prætereà iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quàm suos vincere: statuit non præliis, neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerundum. Itaque in Numidiæ loca opulentissuma pergit, a-

*but inconsiderable: that they had fought sufficiently already for victory, their remaining labour would be for plunder.' However in the mean time he sent* some *deserters, and other proper persons, to spy out where Jugurtha was, or what he designed to do, whether he was with a few, or had an army;* and *how he behaved himself after his defeat. But he had withdrawn himself into places that were full of woods, and naturally very strong: and there was raising an army greater for number of men* than the former, *but unfit for action, and insignificant, acquainted more with husbandry and grazing, than war. This happened by reason that not a man of all the Numidians, except the royal horse-guards, attends their prince upon a defeat; whither every one's inclination leads, thither they retire; nor is this esteemed a reproach upon the soldiery: it is the fashion. Whereupon Metellus, when he perceives the King's spirit* to be *as yet undaunted;* and *that the war would be renewed, which could* not *be carried on but according to his pleasure; and further that he had an unequal conflict with*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LIV. 1. *Nemo——ex fugâ Regem sequitur*] This custom of abandoning their prince or general after a defeat, was not peculiar to the Numidians. Sacred writ ascribes the same to the Israelites. Herodotus informs us this was customary in most of the nations in Asia. Herodian gives the like account of the Parthians. Thucydides says this was the practice of the Illyrians; and Tacitus tells the same story of the Germans.

gros vastat, multa castella et oppida temerè munita, aut sine præsidio, capit incenditque; puberes interficit, alia omnia militum præda esse. Eâ formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quæ usui forent, adfatìm præbita: ubicumque res postulabat, præsidium impositum. Quæ negotia multò magis, quàm prælium male pugnatum [ab suis] Regem terrebant: quippe cui spes omnis in fugâ sita, sequi cogebatur; et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copiâ, quod optumum videbatur, consilium capit: exercitum plerumque in îsdem locis opperiri jubet; ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur, nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantìs repentè adgreditur, eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur:

*the enemy, that they were defeated with less damage than his men gained a victory: resolves to manage the war; not by pitched battles, nor formal engagements, but after another manner. Wherefore away he marches into the richest parts of Numidia, ravages the country, takes abundance of castles and towns that were slightly fortified, or without garrisons, and burns them; the young men he puts to the sword, all things else were plunder for his soldiers. Through the terror of this a great many persons were delivered up as hostages to the Romans; corn, and other things that were necessary, furnished in great plenty: and wherever the case required, a garrison was placed. Which proceedings frighted the King much more than the battle fought with bad success [by his men]: for he, whose hopes lay entirely in shifting* the enemy, *was* now *obliged to pursue; and he, who had not been able to defend the quarters of his own choosing, to*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Temerè munita*] *Temerè munita* dicuntur quæ non justis munitionibus cincta sunt. Sic omne quod non est ex lege, non cum consilio provisum, non perductum ad debitum suum habitum *temerarium* scriptores dicunt.

3. *Sua loca defendere*] *Sua loca* sunt sibi opportuna, et quæ vel optaverit, vel elegerit sibi ad pugnam. *Aliena* sibi iniqua et hostibus opportuniora. Sic infra, cap. lxi. *Neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco, pugnam facere.*

4. *Exercitum plerumque*] *Plerumque* is here an adjective; and the using it in the singular number is no new thing with Sallust. Cat. cap. xxiii. and xxxviii. Pleraque *nobilitas.* Jug. cap. xviii. *Africæ pars inferior* pleraque. Cap. lxxix. *Carthaginienses* pleræque *Africæ imperitabant.*

nemo omnium intactus profugit: et Numidæ, priusquam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proxumos collis discedunt.

*carry on the war in those of another. However, on this occasion he takes the course that appeared best: he orders most of the army to wait in the same place; he himself, with a choice body of horse, follows Metellus,* and *by night-marches and by-roads, when not dreamed of, all on a sudden falls upon the Romans that had strolled abroad* from the camp, *most of them being unarmed are slain, many taken: none of them all escapes without harm: and the Numidians, before relief could come from the camp, scamper off to the next hills, as they had been ordered.*

LV. Interim Romæ gaudium ingens ortum, cognitis Metelli rebus: ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret; in adverso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset; hostium agro potiretur; Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli secordiâ, spem salutis in solitudine, aut fugâ coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus, OB EA FELICITER ACTA, DÎS IMMORTALIBUS SUPPLICIA DECERNERE: civitas trepida anteà, et sollicita de belli eventu, læta agere: fama de Metello præclara esse. Igitur eò intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare, cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret: meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ità quò clarior erat, eò magis animi anxius: neque post insidias Jugurthæ effuso exercitu prædari: ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus e-

LV. *In the mean time huge joy appeared at Rome, upon the news of Metellus's affairs: how he conducted himself and the army after the manner of the old Romans;* though *on the disadvantageous ground, yet by his gallant behaviour, had been victorious; had made himself master of the enemy's country;* and *had obliged Jugurtha, grown insolent through the cowardice of Aulus, to place his hopes of safety in* the shelter *of the desert, or in flight. Wherefore the senate,* for these things happily achieved, orders public thanksgivings to the immortal gods: *the city, formerly in a consternation, and anxious about the issue of the war, was* now *full of joy: the fame of Metellus was glorious. Wherefore so much the more eagerly did he strive for* complete *victory, by all methods made dispatch, took care however lest any where he should become exposed to the enemy:* and *kept in mind, that envy attends upon glory. Thus*

rat, cohortes cum omni equitatu præsidium agitabant: exercitus partìm ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magìs quàm prædâ ager vastabatur. Duobus locis, haud longè inter se, castra faciebant, ubì vi opus erat, cuncti aderant: cæterùm, quò fuga atque formido latiùs crescerent, divorsi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per collîs sequi: tempus aut locum pugnæ quærere: quà venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontîs, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere: modò se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere; postremos in agmine tentare, ac statìm in collis regredi; rursùs aliis, pôst aliis minitari: neque prælium facere, neque otium pati; tantummodò hostem ab incepto retinere.

*the more renowned he was, so much the more concerned he was in his own mind: nor, after that ambuscade of Jugurtha's, did he plunder with his army dispersed: when there was occasion for corn or forage,* some *battalions of foot, with the whole cavalry, performed the part of a guard: he himself conducted part of the army,* and *Marius the rest. But the country was wasted more by fire than plundering. They pitched camps in two places not far asunder. when there was occasion for force, all were at hand: but, to the end desolation and terror might spread the wider, they acted separately. At that time Jugurtha followed* them *along the hills: watched time and place for an attack: wheresoever he heard the enemy was to come, he destroyed the forage and the springs of water, of which there was a great scarcity: presented himself sometimes to Metellus, sometimes to Marius; would attack their rear upon a march, and forthwith retire to the hills; again alarm one quarter, and after that another: would neither give them battle, nor allow them rest; but only diverted his enemy from their enterprise.*

LVI. Romanus imperator, ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri; urbem magnam, et in eâ parte, quâ sita erat, arcem

LVI. *The Roman general, when he sees himself harassed with stratagems, and that an opportunity of fighting could not be obtained from the enemy; resolves to lay siege to a great city*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LV. 1. *Cohortes cum omni equitatu*] Socii nempe, sive auxilia.

2. *Haud longè inter se*] Puta *distantes;* aut *distantibus,* nempe locis; aut *distantia,* ut ad castra referas. Sed mihi priùs adridet.

regni, nomine Zamam, statuit obpugnare: ratus id, quod negotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique prælium fore. At ille, quæ parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit; oppidanos hortatur, mœnia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis; quod genus ex copiis Regis, quia fallere nequibant, firmissumum. Præterea pollicetur, in tempore semet cum exercitu adfore. Ità compositis rebus, in loca quàm maxùme occulta discedit, ac pòst paullò cognoscit, Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Sìccam missum: quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab Rege defecerat. Eò cum dilectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in portâ pugnam facit: simul magnâ voce Siccenses hortatur, 'utì cohortìs ab tergo circumveniant: fortunam præclari facinoris casum dare; si id fece-

*called Zama, a bulwark to the kingdom in that part wherein it lay; supposing, as the case required, that Jugurtha would come to the relief of his subjects in distress, and that thereupon a battle would ensue. But he, having learned from deserters what was intended, by great marches gets before Metellus; encourages the townsmen to defend the walls, giving them the deserters for their assistance; a crew that was most to be relied upon of* all *the King's forces, because they durst not flinch. Moreover he assures them, he would be up in due time with an army. Affairs being thus settled, he retires into the most private parts* of the country, *and a little after gets intelligence, that Marius, upon their march, had been dispatched to Sicca with a few battalions to get corn; which town first of all had revolted from the King after the unfortunate battle. Thither he goes with a choice body of horse in the night, and at the gate makes an attack upon the Romans now coming off: at the same time with a loud voice he begs of the Siccensians, 'to fall upon the battalions in*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LVI. 1. *Quia fallere nequibant*] The Romans inflicted very severe punishments upon any deserter from them that again fell into their hands: such as the cutting off of hands, arms, or other members, beheading, crucifixion, exposing to wild beasts, and the like: and therefore the terror of torture and death, if they should fall into the hands of the Romans, attached them strongly to the prince or party to whom they had deserted, and made them stand by them in a resolute, or rather a desperate manner.

rint, posteà sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu ætatem acturos.' Ac nì Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profectò cuncti, aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent: tantâ mobilitate sese Numidæ agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini paullispèr ab Rege sustentati, postquàm majore vi hostes urguent, paucis amissis, profugi discedunt.

*their rear: that fortune presented an opportunity for a noble exploit; if they would do this, he in* the enjoyment of *his kingdom, they in liberty, should pass their days for the future without fear.' And had not Marius hastened to advance the ensigns, and escape out of town, all, or a great part of the Siccensians certainly would have changed sides: with so much fickleness do the Numidians behave themselves. But the soldiers of Jugurtha having been kept in courage for some time by the King, upon the enemy's pushing with greater fury betake themselves to flight, with the loss of a few of their men.*

LVII. Marius ad Zamam pervenit, id oppidum, in campo situm, magis opere, quàm naturâ munitum erat; nullius idoneæ rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus, pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus, cuncta mœnia exercitu circumvenit; legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret: deindè, signo dato, undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: prælium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars

LVII. *Marius arrives at Zama, that town, being situated in a plain, was fortified more by art than nature; wanted no sort of convenience,* and *was well stored with arms and men. Wherefore Metellus, having made preparations as time and place allowed, invests the town quite round with his army; gives directions to his lieutenant-generals, where each of them should take charge: and then, upon a signal given, a mighty shout is set up from all quarters at once: this alarm does not fright the Numidians; they continue brisk and resolute without disorder:* and *the battle begins. The Romans,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Signa inferre*] *Signa inferebantur* in illam partem, in quam acies convertenda erat. Cæs. VII. Gall. cap. lxvii. *Si quâ in parte nostri laborare aut gravius premi videbantur, eò* signa inferri *Cæsar, aciemque converti jubebat.*

LVII. 1. *Pro ingenia quisque*] That is, according as they were adventurous or more fearful.

eminùs glande, aut lapidibus pugnare; alii succedere, ac murum modò subfodere, modò scalis adgredi: cupere prælium in manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proxumos saxa volvere; sudes, pila, præstereà picem sulphure et tædâ mixtam ardentia mittere. Sed nec illos, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat; nam plerosque jacula tormentis, aut manu emissa volnerabant: parique periculo, sed famâ impari, boni atque ignavi erant.

*according as each man was disposed, fought some of them with bullets or stones at a distance: others advanced, and one while undermined the wall, another while attempted it with ladders: eager to fight the battle with sword in hand. On the other side. the townsmen tumbled great stones upon those that were nearest* the walls; and *threw down sharp stakes,* and *lances, as also pitch mixed with brimstone and wax, all on fire. But neither did timorousness of spirit sufficiently secure those who staid at a distance; for weapons discharged from engines, or the hand, wounded most of them: and the courageous and cowardly were in equal danger, but with unequal reputation.*

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magnâ manu invadit: remissis, qui in præsidio erant, et omnia magìs, quàm prælium exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt: alii fugere, alii arma capere: magna pars volnerati, aut occisi. Cæterùm ex omni multitudine non ampliùs quadraginta, memores nominis

LVIII. *Whilst thus they dispute before Zama, Jugurtha unexpectedly falls upon the enemy's camp with a considerable force:* and *those being off their guard, who were* left *for the defence of it, and looking for any thing rather than a battle, he breaks in at a gate. But our men, confounded with the sudden alarm, provide for themselves, each according to his disposition: some fled, others took to arms: a great part of them were wounded or slain. And of all the number not above forty, mindful of the Roman name, after forming them-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Ardentia mittere*] *Ardentia* pro *ardentem* positum est, eò, quod ad multas simul res, *quæ ardebant*, picem nempe, sulphur, et tædam oratio refertur.

LVIII. 1. *Magna pars volnerati*] See cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

2. *Memores nominis Romani*] The Romans were looked upon by the

Romani, grege factâ, locum cepere, paullò, quàm alii, editiorem: neque inde maxumâ vi depelli quiverunt; sed tela eminùs missa remittere; pauci in pluribus, minùs frustrati; sin Numidæ propiùs accessissent, ibi verò virtutem ostendere, et eos maxumà vi cædere, fundere, atque fugare. Interim Metellus, cùm acerrumè rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit: deìn, converso equo, animadvortit, fugam ad se vorsam fieri: quæ res indicabat popularîs esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra properè mittit, ac statìm C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque lacrumans 'per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, nè quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, nevè hostîs inultos abire sinat:' ille brevì mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, cùm alii super vallum præcipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes obficerent, multis amissis, in loca munita sese recepit.

*selves into a body, seized upon a spot somewhat higher than the rest: nor could they be dislodged from thence by the greatest efforts; but returned the weapons discharged upon them from a distance;* and *being few against many, missed their aims the less: and if the Numidians came nearer them, then indeed they shewed their courage, and with the greatest fury slaughtered, routed, and put them to flight. In the mean time Metellus, whilst he was carrying on his enterprise very briskly, heard upon his rear the noise of an enemy: and thereupon turning his horse, he perceived a retreat to be made toward himself: which circumstance discovered they were his own men. Whereupon he dispatches all the horse instantly to the camp, and presently after them C. Marius with the cohorts of the allies; and beseeches him with tears, 'by their friendship and the commonwealth, not to suffer any affront to be left upon their victorious army, nor the enemy to get off unrevenged:' he quickly executes his orders. But Jugurtha incumbered with the fortifications of the camp, while some tumbled headlong over the rampart, others hastening forward in the narrow*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

world about them as a nation of heroes, and the people of Rome were proud of the name, as importing something great and glorious; insomuch that the bare consideration of their being Romans often inspired them with sentiments of honour and invincible courage.

5. *Pauci in pluribus, minùs frustrati*] *Frustrati* passivè de his, qui non frustra mittunt tela; qui non innoxiè, sed inter confertos certiùs aliquem confodiunt.

Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revortitur.

*passages stop one another, after losing a great many men, betook himself to his fastnesses. Metellus, not having accomplished his design, after the night came on, returns to the camp with the army.*

LIX. Igitur postero die, priusquam ad obpugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in eâ parte, quà Regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet: portas et proxuma loca tribunis dispertit: deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum, atque, ut superiore die, murum adgreditur. Interìm Jugurtha ex occulto repentè nostros invadit: qui in proxumo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur: reliqui citò subveniunt. Neque diutiùs Numidæ resistere quivissent, nî pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri prælio solet, sequi, deìn cedere; sed advorsis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem: ita expeditis peditibus suis, hostîs penè victos dare.

LIX. *Wherefore the day following, before he drew out to make the attack, he orders all the cavalry to patrol before the camp on the side where the King was looked for: the gates, and the parts adjoining, he assigns to the tribunes: and then he himself advances up to the town, and makes an assault upon the wall, as on the day preceding. In the mean time Jugurtha from his cover suddenly comes upon our men: those who had been placed in the front, being daunted, are put into disorder for a little: the rest soon relieve them. Nor could the Numidians have stood it longer, were it not that foot mixing with horse make great havock in a rencounter: on whom depending, they did not charge and then retire, as is usual in an engagement of cavalry; but, with horses head to head, they rushed on, confounded and disordered the ranks: in this manner, by means of their light-armed foot, they well nigh conquered the enemy.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LIX. 1. *Qui in proxumo locati fuerant*] h. e. Quos Jugurtha primum adtigerat, quique, ex Romanis pro castris collocatis, illi proximi erant.

2. *Magnam cladem in congressu facerent*] Hic Sallustius peculiari modo *imperfectum tempus* posuit, quia non tam quod tunc factum fuisset, quàm quid moris sit exponere voluit.

3. *Victos dare*] Duplicem ex his verbis elicias sensum. Equites Nu-

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magnâ vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus, aut tribunus curabat, eò acerrumè niti; neque alius in alio magìs, quàm in sese spem habere: paritèr oppidani agere: obpugnare, aut parare omnibus locis: avidiùs alteri alteros sauciare, quàm semet tegere: clamor permixtus hortatione, lætitiâ, gemitu: item strepitus armorum ad cœlum ferri: tela utrìmque volare. Sed illi, qui mœnia defensabant, ubi hostes paullulum modò pugnam remiserant, intenti prælium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quæque Jugurthæ res erant, lætos modò, modò pavidos animadvorteres: ac, sicuti audiri a suis, aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus, et huc, illuc, quasi vitabundi, aut jacientes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario cognitum est, (nam is in eâ parte curabat,) consultò leniùs agere, ac diffidentiam rei simulare: pati Numidas sine tumultu Regis prælium visere. Ita

LX. *At the same time the dispute was carried on with much fury at Zama. Where each lieutenant, or tribune commanded, there he exerted himself most vigorously; nor did they place their hopes* of success *more in one another, than in themselves: in like manner behaved the townsmen: assaults were making, or defences providing* against them *in all places: both sides were more eager to maul one another, than secure themselves: shouts were mixed with encouragements, exultations,* and *groans: and the din of arms reached the heavens: weapons were flying on both sides. But those who defended the wall, whenever the enemy but a little abated of their vigour in the assault, with great attention viewed the engagement of the horse:* and *you might have perceived them, according as matters went with Jugurtha, one while glad, another while under great consternation: and just as if they could have been heard or seen by their friends, some were admonishing them, athers encouraging them, or giving signs with the hand, or making stretches with their bodies, and often moving hither and thither, like men avoiding or throwing darts. Which when observed by Marius, (for*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

midæ penè ipsi vincebant hostes, et penè victos tradebant quasi expeditis suis peditibus planè conficiendos: quem tamen admittere sensum, multæ rationes vetant. Ergo intellige, per expeditos suos pedites hostes penè vincebant. *Victum dare* pro vincere, ut Virg. Æneid. XII. v. 437. *Nunc te mea dextera bello* defensum dabit. Senec. Medea, v. 528. *Scythos Pelasgis junge,* demersos dabo.

illis studio suorum adstrictis, repentè magnâ vi murum adgreditur; et jam scalis egressi milites propè summa ceperant, cùm oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia præstereà tela ingerunt. Nostri primò resistère; deinde, ubi unæ atque alteræ scalæ comminutæ, qui supersteterant, adflicti sunt; cæteri quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti volneribus abeunt. Denique, utrìmque prælium nox diremit.

*he commanded in that quarter) on purpose he acts more remissly and counterfeits despair of success:* and *suffers the Numidians, without disturbance, to view the King's engagement. Whilst they were thus taken up with a zealous concern for their friends, suddenly he attacks the wall with great fury: and now the soldiers mounting from the ladders had well nigh reached the top, when the townsmen flock together,* and *pour upon them stones, fire,* and *other weapons beside. Our men at first stood stiffly to it: afterward, when one or two of the ladders broke, they who stood upon them were thrown down; the rest made off any way they could, few without harm, a great part quite covered with wounds. Finally, the night put an end to the fray on both sides.*

LXI. Metellus, postquam videt frustra inceptum; neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis, aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam æstatem exactam esse, ab Zamâ discedit; et in his urbibus, quæ ad se defecerant, satisque munitæ loco, aut mœnibus erant, præsidia imponit. Cæterum exercitum in provin-

LXI. *Metellus, after he sees his enterprise was in vain; that the town could not be taken, nor would Jugurtha offer battle, but in the way of surprise, or on advantageous ground, and that the summer was now spent, marches away from Zama; and places garrisons in those cities, which had revolted* from the King *to him, and were sufficiently fortified by situation or walls. The rest of the army he disposes of in*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LX. *Ignem, alia præstereà tela ingerunt*] Whatever is thrown with the hand is called *telum;* and so fire, wherewith one defends himself, or annoys his enemy, comes also under this denomination. Liv. IV. cap. xxxiii. Ignibus armata *ingens multitudo, facibusque ardentibus tota collucens, velut fanatico instincta cursu, in hostem ruit.*

LXI. *Aut suo loco*] It was observed, cap. liv. n. 3. that *suus locus* is the same as *locus sibi opportunus.* Thus Liv. XLII. cap. xliii. Suo *maximè tempore, atque* alieno *hostibus incipere bellum.* Horat. epod IX. v. 30. *Ventis iturus non* suis.

ciam [quæ proxuma est Numidiæ] hiemandi gratiâ collocat. Neque id tempus, ex aliorum more, quieti, aut luxuriæ concedit: sed, quoniam armis bellum parùm procedebat, insidias Regi per amicos tendere, et eorum perfidiâ pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romæ cum Jugurthâ fuerat, et inde, vadibus datis, clam Massivæ de nece judicium fugerat, quòd ei per maxumam amicitiam, maxuma copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus adgreditur; ac primò efficit, utì ad se colloquendi gratiâ occultus veniat: dein fide datâ, 'si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem, et sua omnia concederet.' facilè Numidæ persuadet, cùm ingenio infido, tum metuenti, nè, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per conditiones ad supplicium traderetur.

that part *of the province [that was next to Numidia] in order to winter. Nor does he devote that time, after the manner of others, to idleness and luxury: but since the war advanced slowly by arms, he resolves to lay a trap for the King by means of his friends, and make use of their treachery instead of arms. Accordingly he attacks with large promises Bomilcar, who had been at Rome with Jugurtha, and from thence had privately fled from his trial for the murder of Massiva, after he had given bail*, pitching upon this man, *because he had the best opportunity of deceiving* Jugurtha, *by reason of his very great intimacy* with him; *and in the first place prevails upon him to come to him privately, in order to a conference: and then giving him his word of honour, 'that if he should deliver up Jugurtha alive or dead, it should be, that the senate would grant him a pardon, and all his estate:' he easily persuades the Numidian*, who was *both of a perfidious disposition, and also afraid, lest, if a peace should be made with the Romans, he should be delivered up to punishment by the articles* of it.

LXII. Is, ubi primùm opportunum, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque lacrumans obtestatur, 'utì aliquando sibi liberisque, et genti Numidarum, optumè merenti, provideat: omnibus præ-

LXII. *He, as soon as there was opportunity, accosts Jugurtha full of perplexity and lamenting his case; advises and beseeches him with tears, 'at last to take proper measures for himself and his children, and the nation of the Numidians, that deserved very well* at his hands;

liis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortalis captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse: satis sæpe jam et virtutem militum, et fortunam tentatam: caveret, nè, illo cunctante, Numidæ sibi consulant.' His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem Regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati: 'Jugurtham imperata facturum, ac sine ullâ pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere.' Metellus properè cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis arcessiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum, ex consilii decreto, per legatos Jugurthæ imperat, argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnîs, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quæ postquam sine morâ facta sunt, jubet omnîs perfugas vinctos adduci, eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti: pauci, cùm primùm deditio cœpit, ad Regem Bocchum in Mauritaniam abierant. Igitur Júgurtha, ubi armis virisque, et pecuniâ spoliatus, cùm ipse

*that they had been defeated in every battle, the country desolated, a world of people made prisoners or slain, the strength of the kingdom greatly impaired: that both the valour of his soldiers, and his fortune had been tried often enough already: that he ought to have a care, lest, whilst he demurred, the Numidians should take measures for themselves.' By these and other such* arguments *he disposes the King's mind to a surrender. Deputies are dispatched to the general:* to let him know, '*that Jugurtha would submit to orders, and, without any terms, cast himself and his kingdom upon his honour.' Metellus immediately orders all the* gentlemen *of senatorian rank to be summoned from their winter quarters: holds a council with them, and others whom he judged proper* persons. *And so, in conformity to ancient Roman usage, according to the determination of the council, he makes a demand upon Jugurtha by the deputies, of two hundred thousand pounds of silver, all his elephants,* and *some horses and arms. Which being performed without delay, he orders all the deserters to be brought in chains; a great part of them were brought, as was ordered: a few, when the surrender first began, had gone off*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXII. 1. *Cunctos senatorii ordinis*] Most of the lieutenants in the Roman armies, many of the tribunes, and frequently the quæstors too, were senators.

ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus cœpit flectere animum suum, et ex malâ conscientiâ digna timere. Denique, multis diebus per dubitationem consumtis, cùm modò tædio rerum advorsarum omnia bello potiora duceret; interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret; multis magnisque præsidiis nequidquam perditis de integro bellum sumit. Romæ senatus de provinciis consultus, Numidiam Metello decreverat.

*to Mauritania to King Bocchus. Wherefore Jugurtha, after being stripped of arms, men, and money, when he himself was summoned to Tisidium to receive* further *orders, begun again to change his mind, and from a guilty conscience, to dread condign* punishment. *Finally, having spent many days in hesitation, when sometimes, from an uneasiness under misfortunes, he would reckon every thing preferable to war; sometimes he would think with himself, how grievous the fall from a kingdom into slavery would be; after giving up many and considerable advantages to no purpose, he undertakes the war anew. The senate at Rome, being consulted concerning the provinces, had voted Numidia for Metellus.*

LXIII. Per idem tempus, Uticæ fortè C. Mario per hostias dîs supplicante, 'magna atque mirabilia portendi,' haruspex dixerat: 'proinde, quæ animo agitabat, fretus dîs ageret; fortunam quàm sæpissumè experiretur; cuncta prospera eventura.' At illum jam antea consulatûs ingens cupido exagitabat: ad quem capiundum, præter vetustatem familiæ, alia omnia abundè erant: industria, probitas, militiæ magna scientia, animus

LXIII. *About the same time, C. Marius being accidentally at Utica paying his devotion to the gods by sacrifice, the haruspex told him, 'that great and wonderful things appeared by prognostics* therein *to be designed for him: and therefore, what he was projecting in his mind, depending upon the gods, he might put in execution; might try his fortune as often as he pleased; all success should attend him.' Now a great desire for the consulship had disquieted him before now: for obtaining whereof, except antiquity of family, he had*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Ad imperandum*] The gerunds are frequently used passively. Cap. v. *Quo ad* cognoscendum *omnia illustria magìs, magìsque in aperto sint.* Cæs. VI. Gall. cap. ii. *Senones ad* imperandum *non venire.* Varro I. de R. R. *cap.* xx. *Diebus paucis boves erunt ad* domandum *proni. Justin.* xvii. cap. 3. *Athenas quoque* erudiendi *gratiâ missus.*

belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodò gloriæ avidus. Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primùm ætas militiæ patiens fuit, stipendiis faciundis, non Græcâ facundiâ, neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artîs bonas integrum ingenium brevì adolevit. Ergo ubi primùm tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facilè notus per omnîs tribus declaratur. Deinde ad eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit: semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, utì ampliore, quàm gerebat, dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione præceps datus est) petere non audebat. Etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat. Novus nemo tam clarus, neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore et quasi pollutus haberetur.

*all other* qualifications *in abundance:* such as *industry, integrity, vast skill in the military art, a spirit great in war, moderate at home, far above pleasure and riches,* and *covetous of glory only. Now he was born, and brought up during the whole time of his childhood at Arpinum,* and *as soon as his age was capable of service in the war, he employed himself in making campaigns,* and *not in the Grecian eloquence, nor town refinements: thus in the course of laudable practices his uncorrupted genius quickly advanced to the highest pitch of improvement. Therefore when first of all he sued for the office of tribune of the soldiers from the people, though most of them were strangers to his face,* yet, *being easily known* by his character, *he was chosen by all the tribes. And then after this office he procured for himself one after another: and always in his posts behaved in such a manner, that he was esteemed worthy of a more honourable one than he had. Yet he,* though *such a* valuable *man, till that time (for afterwards he was hurried headlong by ambition) durst not venture to offer himself a candidate* for the consulship. *At that time indeed the commons shared in other offices,* but *the nobility handed about*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXIII. 1. *Arpini altus*] Arpinum was a small, but ancient town in Italy, situate at the concourse of the rivers Liris and Fibrenus, famous for being the birth-place of Marius and Cicero.

2. *Ad id locorum*] *Locus* is often put for *tempus*, and *ad id locorum* for *ad id tempus*. Cap. lxxii. *Neque post* id locorum *Jugurthæ dies aut nonulla quieta fuere*. Cap. cii. *Postea loci*, for *post id tempus*.

*the consulate among themselves. There was no person of low birth so famous, nor of such extraordinary merit, but would have been thought unworthy of that honour, and in a manner a scandal to it.*

LXIV. Igitur ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eòdem intendere videt, quò cupido animi hortabatur; ab Metello petundi gratiâ missionem rogat: cui quamquàm virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis superabant, tamen inerat contemtor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primùm commotus insolitâ re, mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam monere, 'nè tam prava inciperet, neù super fortunam animum gereret: non omnia omnibus cupiunda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere: postremò, caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur.' Postquam hæc atque talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur: respondit 'ubi primùm potuisset per negotia

LXIV. *Wherefore, when Marius sees that the words of the soothsayer tended the same way, that the ambition of his mind prompted him; he requests of Metellus his discharge, in order to stand candidate: in whom though virtue, glory, and other qualifications desirable to good men, had the ascendant, yet had he a disdainful spirit and a haughtiness of mind, the common vice of the nobility. Wherefore at first being much surprised with the novelty of the thing, he wondered at his design, and as it were in a way of friendship, advised him 'not to engage in so wild a project, nor carry his mind above his fortune: all things were not to be coveted by all men; his present condition ought sufficiently to satisfy him: finally, he should beware of asking that of the Roman people, which, for good reasons, might be refused him.' After he had said*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXIV. 1. *Missionem rogat*] By the *sacramentum* or military oath, all the Roman soldiers, officers not excepted, were bound not to leave the army upon any pretence whatsoever, or absent from their duty, without the special leave of the general; and this was called *missio:* of which there were several kinds, such as, *missio honesta,* when an old soldier was discharged from the service; *missio causaria,* when one, on account of indisposition, was allowed to be absent from his duty; and hence such invalids are by Livy called *milites causarii; missio ignominiosa,* when a person was turned out of the army by way of disgrace and punishment; *missio gratiosa,* when leave was sought or granted by way of favour, as here in the case of Marius.

2. *Per negotia publica*] These words elegantly express the reason why

publica, facturum sese, quæ peteret.' Ac postea, sæpiùs eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, 'nè festinaret abire: satis maturè illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum.' Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter xx. quæ res Marium cùm pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum vehementèr accenderat. Ita cupidine atque irâ, pessumis consultoribus, grassari: neque facto ullo, neque dicto abstinere, quod modò ambitiosum foret: milites, quibus, in hibernis præerat, laxiore imperio, quàm antea, habere: apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticæ erat, criminosè simul, et magnificè de bello loqui. 'dimidia pars exercitûs sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum: ab imperatore consultò trahi, quòd homo inanis et regiæ super-

*this and things to the like purpose, Marius's resolution not being diverted; he told him, 'that he would do what he desired as soon as he could for public business.' And afterwards, upon his often requesting the same thing, he is reported to have said, 'he need be in no haste to be gone: he would sue for the consulship time enough with his son.' He at that time was serving there under his father, being about twenty years of age: which reply raised a prodigious keenness in Marius, as well for the high office, which he aimed at, as against Metellus. Thus, under the influence of ambition and resentment, the worst of monitors, did he proceed: nor from any action or expression, so be it was popular, did he refrain: he kept the soldiers, whom he commanded in their winter-quarters, under a laxer discipline than formerly: among the merchants, whereof there was a great number at Utica, he spoke concerning the war reproachfully,* with respect to Metellus, *and at the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

he could not let him go just now. Thus Cic. VII. epist. i. *Cum* per valetudinem *posses venire tamen noluisti.*

3. *Contubernio patris*] In the Roman camps, those who lodged in the same tent, being commonly eight or ten, were said to be *in contubernio*, or were called *contubernales.* And the young noblemen who attended the army, under the care and inspection of the general, in order to gain some experience in military affairs, were commonly lodged in the general's tent or pavilion, and so were on that account called *imperatoris contubernales*, or said to be *in ejus contubernio.*

4. *Ambitiosum foret*] *Ambitiosum* vocat, quod est ad favorem acquirendum comparatum.

5. *Regiæ superbiæ*] *Regium* dicunt, quidquid intolerabile et immodicum.

biæ imperio nimìs gauderet.' Quæ omnia illis eò firmiora videbantur, quòd diuturnitate belli res familiarîs corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

*same time in a boasting manner* as to himself: '*should one half of the army be given to him, he would have Jugurtha in chains within a few days: that* the war *was protracted on purpose by the general, because being a vain man, and of insufferable pride, he was too fond of his command.' All which appeared to them the more plausible, because they had suffered in their private concerns by the long continuance of the war, and to a longing mind no measures seem expeditious enough.*

LXV. Erat præpterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissæ nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus, et ob eam caussam mente paulùm imminutâ. Cui Metellus petenti, more Regum utì sellam juxtà poneret; item postea custodiæ causâ turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque negaverat: honorem, quòd eorum mo-

LXV. *There was besides in our army a certain Numidian, by name Gauda, the son of Mastanabal,* and *grandson of Masinissa, whom Micipsa in his will had made his second heir, a* man *quite over-run with bodily distempers, his mind too being a little crazed upon that account. Whom Metellus, upon his making a request* for allowance *to place his chair next him, as Kings did; and afterwards for a troop of Roman horse as a guard, had refused* as to *both: the honour* of the seat he refused, *because it*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXV. 1. *Secundum heredem scripserat*] *Secundus heres* was he who was appointed heir in case the first died, or otherwise could not, or would not take possession: and it was ordinary for princes, and persons of great estates, to name in their *wills*, not only a second, but a third, or even a fourth heir. *N.B.* Heredem *per simplex* e *in MMS. scribi scias; eamque scripturam doctiores, ut antiquissimam, hodie amplectuntur.*

2. *Sellam juxtà poneret*] In the Roman armies, the general had a chair of state called *sella castrensis*, on which he placed himself as on a throne or bench, when he gave audience to ambassadors, sat in judgment, or presided in any council of war. Round him the lieutenants, and other persons of distinction, took their places; and if any king happened to be in the army, he was allowed the honour of sitting next to the general on the right hand.

3. *Custodiæ causâ turmam*] Gauda was probably under apprehensions that Jugurtha might hire some ruffians to murder him, the way he had dispatched Massiva at Rome; and therefore petitioned Metellus for a life-guard.

do foret, quos populus Romanus Reges adpellavisset; præsidium, quòd contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidæ traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium adgreditur atque hortatur, utì contumeliarum imperatoris, cum suo auxilio, pœnas petat. hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secundâ oratione extollit: 'illum Regem, ingentem virum, Masinissæ nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus, aut occisus, imperium Numidiæ sine morâ habiturum: id adeò maturè posse evenire, si ipse Consul ad id bellum missus foret.' Itaque et illum, et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, utì Romam ad suos necessarios asperè in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic ille a multis mortalibus honestissumâ suffragatione consulatus petebatur. simul eâ tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusâ per legem Ma-

*belonged only to those whom the Roman people had complimented with the title of Kings; the guard, because it would have been an affront to them, if Roman horse had been given as life-guard men, to a Numidian. This man, in a deep concern* for the refusal, *Marius addresses, and advises him to seek revenge with his assistance for the affronts put upon him by the general: by soothing speech he cries up the* poor *man, scarce of a sound judgment by reason of his distemper:* tells him, '*he was a prince, a great man, the grandson of Masinissa: if Jugurtha was taken prisoner, or slain, he would get the kingdom of Numidia forthwith: this might be very soon brought about, if he was sent in quality of Consul to* manage *the war.*' *And so he persuades both him and the Roman knights, the soldiers and the merchants, some of them himself,* but *hopes of peace* determined *most of them, to write to Rome, to their friends bitterly against Metellus, concerning* his conduct in *the war*, and *desire Marius for general. Thus the consulship was courted for him by a world of people,* and *by a very honourable interest* made in

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Reges adpellavisset*] *Reges*, adpellabantur ab Romanis, more solenni, quo et *amici et socii*.

5. *Et equites Romanos*] Per *equites* non intelligit *equitatum*, qui erat in exercitu, sed *publicanos*, qui conducebant vectigalia a populo. Ordo publicanorum ex ordine erat equestri. *We have this confirmed by* Vell. Pat. II. cap. 11. Hic per publicanos aliosque in Africâ negotiantes, criminatus Metelli lenitudinem, &c.

6. *Per legem Mamiliam*] De hâc *lege Mamiliâ* mirâ, glossarii et in-

miliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

his favour: *at the same time too, the commons, having baffled the nobility by the Mamilian law, were for raising new commoners. Thus all things turned out fair for Marius.*

LXVI. Interìm Jugurtha postquàm, omissâ deditione, bellum incipit, cum magnâ curâ parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum: civitates, quæ ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando præmia adfectare: communire suos locos, arma, tela, alia, quæ spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari: servitia Romanorum adlicere, et eos ipsos, qui in præsidiis erant, pecuniâ tentare: prorsùs nihil intactum, neque quietum pati: cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quò Metellus initio, Jugurthà pacificante, præsidium imposuerat, fatigati Regis suppliciis, neque anteà voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam volgus, utì plerumque solet, et maxumè Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum novarum rerum, quieti et otio advorsum: deìn, compositis inter se rebus,

LXVI. *In the mean time Jugurtha, having dropped the surrender, after he enters upon war, prepares every thing with great application, uses all expedition, raises an army: by terror, or by offering rewards, endeavours to recover the cities that had revolted from him; fortifies his holds, makes or buys up arms, weapons,* and *other things, which he had parted with in hopes of peace: solicits the Roman slaves, and tempts even those who were in the garrisons with his money: leaves nothing at all untried, or not put in motion: but turns himself to all sides. Whereupon the people of Vaga, where Metellus at first, when Jugurtha was suing for a peace, had placed a garrison, being wearied out by the solicitations of the King, and not alienated in their affection before, the chiefs of their city conspire among themselves: for the populace, as is generally usual, and especially among the Numidians, were of a fickle temper, seditious, and contentious, fond of change,* and *enemies to peace and tranquillity: and then, having formed the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

terpretes non intelligunt aliam, quam cujus suprà, cap. xl. facta est mentio; etsi ibi *rogatio* nominetur. Nam perlatâ rogatione, eâque jussâ a populo, *lex* erat.

LXVI. 1. *Reficere*] Non est reparare et emendare, sed *iterum, denuo* facere.

diem tertium constituunt; quòd is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magìs quàm formidinem ostentabat. Sed ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum præfectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant: eos omnîs præter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant: posteà milites palantîs, inermos, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, adgrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati: quîs acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novæ satis placebant.

*plot among themselves, they pitch upon the third day* after for the execution of it; *because that being a festival, and much observed throughout all Africa, would carry an appearance of diversion and jollity rather than terror. Now when the time was come, they invite the centurions and military tribunes, and the governor of the town himself, T. Turpilius Silanus, to their houses, one one, and another another of them;* and *murder them all during the feast, except Turpilius: after this they fall upon the soldiers, strolling about unarmed, and under no command, in regard it was such a day. The common people do the same, part of them having been instructed by the nobility, others being pursued on from a fondness for such tumults: who, though they knew not what had been done, or the design, yet were much pleased with the very commotion and the novelty of the thing.*

LXVII. Romani milites, improviso metu, incerti ignarique, quid potissumum facerent, trepidare ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant: præsidium hostium, portæ antè clausæ fugam prohibebant: ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis ædificiorum saxa, et alia, quæ

LXVII. *The Roman soldiers, upon this unexpected alarm, being in great doubt, and not knowing what they had best to do, ran in great hurry to the citadel of the town, where their standards and shields were: but a guard of enemies,* and *the gates that were shut before this time, prevented their retreat: besides, the women and the boys, from the tops of the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Præfectum oppidi*] *Præfectus* oppidi, qui præsidio præerat. Antiquissima adpellatio; et ab regibus, qui domo profecti, relinquebant *Præfectum urbi.*

3. *Inermos, quippe in tali die*] Herodian, II. cap. xiii. informs us, that it was usual for the soldiers, on festival days, and days of public thanksgiving or supplication, to go abroad unarmed.

locus præbebat, certatìm mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortissumis infirmissumo generi resisti posse: juxtà boni malique, strenui et imbelles inulti obtruncati. In eâ tantâ asperitate, sævissumis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus: id misericordiàne hospitis, an pactione, an casu ità evenerit, parùm comperimus; nisi quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita famâ integrâ potior, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

*houses, furiously discharged* upon them *stones, and other things which the place afforded. Thus neither could the mischief that was on all sides be guarded against, nor resistance made by the most valiant to the weakest: the courageous and the cowardly, the vigorous and the feeble, perished equally unrevenged. In this dismal scene, the Numidians exercising their utmost fury, and the town shut up on all sides, Turpilius alone of all the Italians escaped without harm: whether it happened so through the compassion of his entertainer, or by compact, or chance, we have not discovered for certain; but because in such a disaster, inglorious life* was *dearer to him than unstained honor, he is looked on as worthless and infamous.*

LXVIII. Metellus, postquam de rebus Vagæ actis comperit, paullisper mœstus e conspectu abit: deinde, ubi ira et ægritudo permixta, cum maxumâ curâ ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum quâ hiemabat, et, quàm plurimos potest, Numidas equites paritèr cum occasu solis expeditos educit:

LXVIII. *Metellus, after he got notice of the transactions at Vaga, being for some time pensive, retired from company: afterward, when his resentment and sorrow united, he hastens, with the greatest eagerness, to go and revenge the injury. He draws out the legion he wintered with, and as many light Numidian horse as he could* get together, *just about sun-set: and next day, by*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXVII. 1. *An casu ita evenerit*] Plutarch, in his life of Marius, tells us, that Turpilius was guilty of no treachery, and that his escaping at this time was owing, not to chance, but purely to the regard the people of Vaga had for him, on account of his lenity and gentle government.

2. *Intestabilisque videtur*] Propriè ille est, qui nec testimonium dicere, nec testamentum facere, aut testamento aliquid consequi potest: eoque jure potior pars de jure libertatis continebatur. Hinc pro homine nequam et execrando ponitur, qui communi civium jure vitâque indignus est.

et posterà die, circiter horam tertiam, pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullô superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine, et jam abnuentìs omnia, docet, 'oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse: decere illos reliquum laborem æquo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissumis atque miserrumis, pœnas caperent.' præthereà prædam benignè ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo latè, pedites quàm artissumè ire, signa occultare jubet.

*three o'clock, he came into a certain plain inclosed on all sides with rising grounds. There he tells the soldiers, that were fatigued with the greatness of their march, and by this time refusing all* orders, '*that the town of Vaga was not above a mile off: it became them to bear the remaining fatigue with a patient mind, till they had taken revenge for their countrymen, very brave fellows, and most unfortunate:' moreover he in a generous manner makes them an offer of the plunder. Their spirits being thus cheered, he orders the horse to march wide upon the van, the foot as close as possible,* and *to conceal their standards.*

LXIX. Vagenses, ubi animum advortere, ad se vorsùm exercitum pergere: primò, utì erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere: deindè, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident; rursùm Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repentè signo dato, alii volgum effusum oppido cædere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turrìs capere: ira atque prædæ

LXIX. *The Vagensians, when they observed the army marching towards them: at first supposing it to be Metellus, as the case was, shut their gates: afterward, when they perceive no ravage made upon the country, and those, who were in the van,* to be *Numidian horse, again imagining it* was *Jugurtha, with great joy they go out to meet him. Both horse and foot, upon a sudden signal given, some made havock of the mob that were coming in great crowds from the town; others hastened forward to the gates; part seized upon the towers: resentment and*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXVIII. *Circiter horam tertiam*] The Romans divided their day, or the time betwixt sun-rising and sun-setting, into twelve hours; and as they counted from sun-rising, their *hora tertia* will, at the time of the *æquinoxes* in March and September, coincide with our nine o'clock; but at all other times of the year it will be a little different.

2. *Ostentat*] Pro *offerre* sæpissimè.

spes ampliùs, quàm lassitudo posse. Ità Vagenses biduum modò ex perfidia lætati: civitas magna et opulens pœnæ cuncta, aut prædæ fuit. Turpilius, quem præfectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse, suprà ostendimus, jussus a Metello caussam dicere, postquam sese parùm expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite pœnas solvit. nam is civis ex Latio erat.

*the hopes of plunder prevailed over their weariness. Thus the people of Vaga made merry only two days over their treachery: their great and wealthy city was wholly* sacrificed *to the sword or plunder. Turpilius, who, we said above, being governor of the town, was the only one of them all that made his escape, being ordered by Metellus to account for his conduct, when he could not clear himself, after being condemned and scourged, suffered the punishment of death. for he was a citizen of Latium.*

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus Regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere: ad perniciem ejus dolum quærere; diu noctuque fatigare animum. denique

LXX. *About the same time Bomilcar, at whose instigation Jugurtha had begun the surrender, which* afterwards *he relinquished through fear, being suspected by the King, and himself suspicious of him, was wishing for a turn of circumstances: contriving a plot for his destruction;* and *racking his invention day and night*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXIX. *Capite pœnas solvit*] We learn from Plutarch, that Marius was very pressing to have Turpilius put to death; not because he thought he deserved it, but because he knew him to be a man heartily in the interest of Metellus. But as the innocence of Turpilius came, soon after his death, to be discovered, this among other things gave occasion to the great hatred which Metellus conceived against Marius.

2. *Nam is civis ex Latio erat*] Though a general in the Roman army had a very great authority, yet after the Porcian law, neither he, nor any one else, could punish a native citizen of Rome with rods or death; the highest punishment that could legally be inflicted being that of banishment. But the people of Latium, and the other allies in Italy, though they formed, in a sort, part of the commonwealth, and enjoyed several immunities, yet had not this privilege extended to them; and therefore they might be sentenced to death, or other punishments, according to the demerit of their crime. And here further notice, that, before the Porcian law, condemned criminals at Rome were commonly first scourged or lashed with rods, and then put to death: accordingly we find this form of procedure observed here in the case of Turpilius. See cap. ii. n. 5.

omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opibus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis: qui plerumque seorsùm ab Rege exercitum ductare, et omnis res exseqni solitus erat, quæ Jugurthæ fesso, aut majoribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventæ. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: cætera, utì res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, nè ager, inultis hostibus, vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediebat; Bomilcar simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, nè, omisso vetére consilio, novum quæreret, litteras ad eum per homines fidelìs mittit, 'mollitiem socordiamque viri accusare; testari deos, per quos juravisset; præmia Metelli in pestem nè converteret;

for that purpose, *at last, after trying all expedients, he joins to himself as an associate Nabdalsa, a nobleman of a great estate,* and *in high esteem and favour with his countrymen: who generally used to command an army distinct from the King, and take charge of all affairs, which could not be overtaken by Jugurtha when fatigued, or engaged in business of higher concern: from whence glory and wealth redounded to him. Wherefore, by joint consent, a day is fixed for the plot: it was agreed other particulars should be concerted on the spot, as the case should require. Nabdalsa went to his army, which he kept, as he had been ordered, hard by the winter-quarters of the Romans, that the country might not be ravaged, without revenge taken on the enemy. When he, daunted with the greatness of the undertaking, came not at the time* appointed, *and his fear had marred the project; Bomilcar at once being eagerly desirous to accomplish his purpose, and greatly concerned at the timorousness of his accomplice, lest, dropping their former design, he should hatch a new one* to his destruction, *dispatches a letter to him by trusty hands,* in

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXX. *Inter hiberna Romanorum*] Sallust either means, that Nabdalsa's army lay among or betwixt the Roman garrisons placed in such towns of Numidia as had submitted to Metellus, or we must take *inter* to signify *hard by* or *near by*; a sense in which it is sometimes used: and then the meaning will be that Nabdalsa's army lay upon the borders of Numidia, not far from the Romans, who were quartered in the province, as we are told, cap. lxi.

Jugurthæ exitium adesse, cæterùm suâne, an virtute Metelli periret, id modò agitari: proindè reputaret cum animo suo, præmia, an cruciatum mallet.'

which *he 'complained of the man's cowardice and want of spirit; called the gods to witness, by whom he had sworn;* and advised him *not to turn the rewards offered by Metellus to their* common *destruction; Jugurtha's ruin was at hand, and the only thing to be considered was, whether he should perish by the bravery of Metellus, or their own; and therefore he ought to think with himself, whether he would make choice of rewards or torture.'*

LXXI. Sed cùm eæ litteræ adlatæ, fortè Nabdalsa, exercito corpore fessus, in lecto quiescebat, ubi, cognitis Bomilcaris verbis, primò cura, deinde, utì ægrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque, et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissumi, particeps. Qui, postquam adlatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus operâ aut ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introivit: dormiente illo, epistolam, super caput in pulvino temerè positam, sumit ac perlegit. dein properè, cognitis insidiis, ad Regem pergit. Nabdalsa, pòst paullò experectus, ubi neque epistolam reperit, et rem omnem, utì acta, cognovit; primò indicem persequi conatus: postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratiâ accedit, 'quæ ipse paravisset, perfidiâ clientis sui

LXXI. *But when this letter was brought, Nabdalsa by chance was resting upon his bed, being fatigued after hard exercise of body, where, after reading Bomilcar's letter, first anxiety, and then, as usually happens to a troubled mind, sleep seized him. He had a certain Numidian, the manager of his affairs, faithful to him and highly in his favour, and acquainted with all his designs, except the last. Who, after he heard a letter was brought, supposing there would be occasion, as usual, for his service or advice, entered his tent:* and, *whilst he slept, takes the letter that was carelessly laid above his head, upon the pillow, and reads it, and then, having discovered the plot, he posts away in all haste to the King. Nabdalsa awaking soon after, when he found not the letter, and had got notice of the whole affair, how it had passed; first endeavours to overtake the informer: when that was to no purpose, he goes to Jugurtha, in order to mollify him,* tells him '*what he himself designed had been prevented by the*

præventa:' lacrumans obtestatur 'per amicitiam, perque sua anteà fidelitèr acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet.'

*treachery of his servant;' and beseeches him with tears, 'by his favour for him, and his former faithful services, not to suspect him of such a villainy.'*

LXXII. Ad ea Rex aliter, atque animo gerebat, placidè respondit. Bomilcare, aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis, iram oppresserat: nè qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthæ dies, aut nox ulla quieta fuere; neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori satis credere: civîs, hostîs juxtà metuere; circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere: alio atque alio loco, sæpe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere: interdum somno excitus, arreptis armis tumultum facere, ita formidine, quasi vecordiâ exagitari.

LXXII. *To this the King made a reply in a gracious manner,* and *otherwise than he thought in his mind. After having put to death Bomilcar, and several others, whom he found* to have been *accomplices in the plot, he stifled his resentment; lest a mutiny should have been occasioned by* his prosecuting *that affair. Nor after this time had Jugurtha any quiet day or night: he could not securely trust any place, nor any person, or occasion: equally dreaded his subjects and his enemies: was ever looking at all round him, and in a fright at every noise: rested at night, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, often* in a way *inconsistent with the dignity of a prince: sometimes starting out of his sleep,* and *snatching his arms, he would make a great bustle. thus he was distracted with fear, as with a phrensy.*

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris, et indicio patefacto, ex perfugis cognovit, rursus, tamquam ad integrum bellum, cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum, et offensum sibi, parùm idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romæ plebes, litteris, quæ de Metello ac Ma-

LXXIII. *Wherefore Metellus, after he got notice from deserters of the fate of Bomilcar, and the discovery that had been made, again prepares and hastens on every thing, as for a fresh war.* And *as he thought Marius,* who was still *importuning him for leave to be gone,* would be *no proper person* for his service, *as being both unwilling* to stay, *and in a spite at him, he sends him home. At Rome too the commons,*

rio missæ erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quæ anteà decori, invidiæ esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat. cæterùm in utroque magìs studia partium, quàm bona, aut mala sua moderata. Præterea, seditiosi magistratus volgum exagitare. Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, utì opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitæ erant, relictis operibus, frequentarent Marium, et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita, perculsâ nobilitate, post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur. et posteà populus a tribuno

*when they came to know the* contents of the *letters that had been sent relating to Metellus and Marius, joyfully received the accounts concerning both. High descent, which formerly had been an ornament to this general, was* now *the occasion of hatred: whereas lowness of birth procured favour to the other. but party-rage swayed more in the case of both, than their own good or bad qualities. Besides,* some *factious magistrates inflamed the populace, charged Metellus with capital crimes in all their harangues,* and *greatly magnified the excellent conduct of Marius. In short, the people were so fired, that all the mechanics and country boors, whose living and credit depended on their handy work, leaving their employments, attended in crowds upon Marius, and postponed their own necessary concerns to his advancement. Thus, the nobility being borne down, the consulship*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXIII. 1. *Volenti animo*] *Volenti animo* faciunt sextum casum interpretes, cùm sit tertius, qui ita explicandus est: *quæ erant* animo *eorum* volenti, de ambobus acceperant: Græca est structura: infrà cap. lxxxiv. *Quia neque* plebi *militia* volenti *putabatur.* Ibi tantummodo verbum substantivum hic verò etiam pronomen relativum omittitur. Ea res imposuit interpretibus, cap. c. *Uti* militibus *exæquatus cum imperatore labos* volentibus *esset.* Tacit. III. Hist. cap. lii. *lique omnes de festinatione Primi de Vari siniste, et* Muciano volenti *rescripsere,* h. e. quæ erant Muciano volenti.

2. *Post illius honorem*] Honorem consulatus.

3. *Post multas tempestates*] Cum multo ante tempore id factum non esset. Post Marium longo intervallo id contigit Ciceroni. Ille verò valdè ineptus fuit, qui hìc in voce *tempestates* de *turbis* cogitavit, cùm toties Sallustius *eâ tempestate,* et similia dixerit, ut notaret *tempus.* Atque ita Livius, Tacitus, Curtius æquè frequentèr. Mansit eâ notione apud historicos usque ad infimam Latinitatis ætatem, quod Dictys, Hegesippus, Sulpicius Severus, iisque juniores ostendunt.

plebis Manilio Mancino rogatus, QUEM VELLET CUM JUGURTHA BELLUM GERERE? frequens Marium jussit. Senatus paullò antè Metello decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

*is conferred upon an upstart gentleman, which had not happened for many years before, and after this the people being asked by Manilius Mancinus, a tribune of the commons,* who they inclined should carry on the war with Jugurtha? *in a full assembly appointed Marius.* *The senate a little before-hand voted for Metellus:* but *that was in vain.*

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha, amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, cæteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad Regem Bocchum profugerant; cùm neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tantâ perfidiâ veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat: neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat: itinera præfectosque in dies mutare: modò advorsum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere: sæpe in fugâ, ac post paullò spem in armis habere: dubitare, virtuti popularium, an fide minùs crederet. ita, quocumque intenderat, res advorsæ erant. Sed inter eas moras repentè sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidæ ab Jugurtha pro

LXXIV. *At the same time Jugurtha, having lost his friends, most of whom he himself had put to death, the rest out of fear had fled, part of them to the Romans, others to King Bocchus;* and *as the war could not be carried on without assistants, and he thought it dangerous to try the faith of new ones, after such treachery in the old, behaved in a very wavering manner, and knew not well what to do: no project, no advice, nor any person fully pleased him: he changed his marches and his officers every day: would move sometimes toward the enemy, sometimes toward the deserts: oftentimes placed his hopes in flight, and presently after in his arms:* and *was in doubts whether he could least trust the courage of his subjects, or their fidelity. thus, what way soever he turned his thoughts, things were against him. But, whilst he thus demurs, on a sudden Metellus presents himself with his army. The Numidians were put in order, and drawn up by Ju-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXIV. 1. *Amissis amicis*] *Amicos* hic vocat, qui sunt circa Regem consiliarii et administri rerum gerendarum, *proxumi*, ut Bomilcarem adpellat, cap. xxxv.

tempore parati instructique: dein prælium incipitur. Quâ in parte Rex adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum: cæteri omnes [ejus milites] primo concursu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti. nam fermè Numidas in omnibus præliis pedes magìs, quàm arma tuta sunt.

LXXV. Eâ fugâ Jugurtha, impensiùs modò rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus erat. Quæ postquam Metello comperta, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proxumum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat; tamen spe patrandi belli, [si ejus oppidi potitus foret,] omnîs asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere adgreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sar-

*gurtha, as the time would allow: and then a battle begins. In that part where the King was present, the fight was maintained for some time: all the rest [of his soldiers] were routed and put to flight at the first shock. The Romans became masters of a small number of standards and arms,* but *of few of the enemy. for generally a pair of heels saved the Numidians in all the battles more than their arms.*

LXXV. *Upon this defeat, Jugurtha, more than ever despairing of success, made off with the deserters, and part of the horse to the deserts, and from thence to Thala, a great and wealthy city, where most of his treasure was, and a great deal of furniture for the use of his children in their youth. Which when discovered by Metellus, though he knew, that betwixt Thala and the next river, the country was parched and waste for the space of fifty miles; yet in hopes of finishing the war, [if he could be master of that town,] he resolves to surmount all difficulties, and even vanquish nature* itself. *Wherefore he orders all the beasts of burden to be eased of their luggage, except ten days corn: and leathern bot-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Tuta sunt*] *Tuta* is not in this place an adjective noun, but the participle perfect of the verb *tueor.*

LXXV. 1. *Filiorumque ejus multus pueritiæ cultus*] *Filiorum*, credo, etiam ad *filias* Jugurthæ spectat, quos suprà cap. xlvii. usitato *liberorum* nomine exprimit. A potiore enim sexu denominationem sumunt, et *filios, patres, soceros, fratres, avos, Reges* dicunt, qui sint ex utroque sexu. Per *cultum* intelligit non modò vestimenta, sed omnia quæ ad educationem, ornatum, et magnificentiam liberorum Regis requiruntur.

cinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem: cæterùm utres modò, et alia aquæ idonea portari. Præterea conquirit ex agris quàm plurimum potest, domiti pecoris: eòque imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc, finitumis imperat, qui se post Regis fugam Metello dederant, quàm plurimum quisque aquæ portarent, diem locumque 'ubi præstò fuerint prædicit.' Ipse ex flumine, quam proxumam oppido aquam suprà diximus, jumenta onerat. eo modo instructus, ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quò Numidis præceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt; tanta repentè cœlo missa vis aquæ dicitur, ut ea modò exercitui satis superque foret. Præterea, commeatus spe amplior: quia Numidæ, sicuti plerique in novâ deditione, officia intenderant. Cæterùm milites religione pluviâ magìs usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit. nam rati sese dis immortalibus

*tles only, and other vessels proper to put up water in to be carried. Moreover, he picks up out of the country as many of the working cattle as he could; and loads them with vessels of all kinds, but mostly of wood, taken out of the cottages of the Numidians. Besides, he orders the neighbouring people, who, after the defeat of the King, had submitted to Metellus, to carry every one of them as much water as they could,* and *appoints time and place 'for their meeting him.' He loads the beasts of carriage out of the river, which, we have above said, was the nighest water to the town. provided in this manner, away he marches for Thala. Afterward, when he arrived at the place, to which he had ordered the Numidians* to carry the water, *and the camp was pitched and fortified, such a vast quantity of water is said to have been rained down from the clouds all on a sudden, that it alone would have been more than sufficient for the army. Besides, provisions* were *greater than expectation: for the Numidians had exceeded in their services, as most people do upon a recent submission. But the soldiers, from a religious consideration, made use rather of the rain* than the river-water:

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Ubi præstò fuerint præ*] Ab sciolis infartum esse scias. Latini enim, et imprimis Sallustius, *diem, locum constituere,* aut *dicere* usurpant, ut intelligant *diem*, quo die, et *locum*, ad quem locum aquam portarent. Hæc intelligunt, non exprimunt.

3. *Officia intenderant*] *Intendere* est augère, prolixè facere: plus adtulerant, quàm jussi erant.

curæ esse. Deindè postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthæ, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magnâ atque insolitâ re perculsi, nihilò segniùs bellum parare; idem nostri facere.

*and this accident added much to their courage. for they imagined that the immortal gods took care of them. And then the day following, contrary to Jugurtha's expectation, they arrive at Thala. The town's people, who thought themselves secured by the natural wildness of the country* about them, though *amazed at the great and uncommon event,* yet *prepared for war not a bit less vigorously: our men did the same.*

LXXVI. Sed Rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam, cæteris imperitantem, industriâ vicerat, cum liberis et magnâ parte pecuniæ ex oppido noctu profugit; neque posteà in ullo loco ampliùs unâ die, aut unâ nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratiâ properare: cæterùm proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat. nam talia consilia per otium, et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos prælio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus, et loco munitum videt, vallo fossâque mœnia circumvenit. Deindè locis ex copiâ maxumè idoneis vineas agere, ag-

LXXVI. *But the King thinking now nothing impracticable for Metellus, as who had conquered all things by his industry,* viz. *arms, weapons, places, times, and finally nature itself, that rules over all things else, fled out of the town in the night-time, with his children and a great part of the treasure: and never after staid above one day, or one night, in any* one *place, pretending he hastened away on account of business: but,* the truth is, *he was afraid of being betrayed, which he thought he might avoid by the quickness of his motions. for such designs are hatched in times of rest, and according to opportunity. But Metellus, when he sees the town's people resolved upon fighting, the town also well secured both by art and situation, environs the wall with a rampart and ditch. And then he erects vineæ in all the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXVI. 1. *Arma, tela*] As *arma* denotes defensive armour, and *tela* the offensive or missive, they may here be taken to import *defences* and *attacks.*

2. *Locis ex copiâ maxumè idoneis*] *Ex omni copiâ* locorum, quibus vineas agere potuit: neque verò iis loca apta erant.

gerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra hæc oppidani festinare, parare: prorsùs ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo antè labore præliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quàm eò ventum erat, oppido modò potiti: præda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri, resque suas adflictas vident, aurum atque argentum, et alia, quæ prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque, et domum, et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus pœnas metuerent, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

*most convenient places, throws up a mount, and from towers erected on the mount defends the works and the workmen. On the other hand, the townsmen were exceeding active,* and *made* all possible *preparations: in short, nothing was omitted on either side. Finally, the Romans, after being heartily tired with much previous fatigue and fighting, forty days after they arrived there, made themselves masters of the city,* and of it *only: all the plunder* had been *destroyed by the deserters. These, after they saw the walls battered with rams, and their case desperate, carry the gold and silver, and other things which are accounted most valuable, to the royal palace; and there, after they had glutted themselves with wine and good cheer, they destroy both those, and the palace, and themselves with fire; and voluntarily inflicted on themselves the punishment, which upon being defeated they might have dreaded from the enemy.*

LXXVII. Sed paritèr cum captâ Thalâ, legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, ‘ utì præsidium præfectumque eò mitteret; Hamilcarem

LXXVII. *But just at the time when Thala was taken, deputies came from the town of Leptis to Metellus, begging of him, ‘ to send a garrison and a governor thither; that one Hamilcar, a*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Arietibus feriri*] The ram. says Josephus, was a vast long beam, like the mast of a ship, strengthened at one end with a head of iron, somewhat resembling that of a ram, whence it took its name. This was hung by the middle with ropes fastened to a beam that lay across a couple of posts, and hanging thus equally balanced it was by a great number of men violently thrust forward, drawn back, and again pushed forward, till, by reiterated strokes, it had shaken and broke down the wall with its iron head. *N. B.* The ram was commonly covered with *vineæ* to protect both it and men from the attempts of the enemy.

quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere: advorsum quem neque imperia magistratuum, neque leges valerent; nî id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore.' Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam Consulem, et posteà Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum. Deindé, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino Metelloque imperata navi fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facilè, quæ petebant, adepti. Emissæ eò cohortes Ligurum quatuor, et C. Annius præfectus.

*nobleman*, a person *of a turbulent disposition, was in a plot against the government: against whom neither the power of the magistrates, nor the laws could be effectual; unless he hastened* to do *this, the safety of the inhabitants, the allies of the Romans, would be in the utmost danger.' For the people of Leptis, at the very beginning of the war with Jugurtha, had sent to Bestia the Consul, and afterwards to Rome, to desire our friendship and alliance. And then, when this was obtained, they continued always true and trusty, and punctually executed all orders from Bestia, Albinus, and Metellus. Wherefore they easily obtained of the general what they desired. Four battalions of Ligurians were sent thither, and C. Annius as governor.*

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civilîs navibus in eos locos venisse; cæterùm situm inter duas Syrtis, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extremâ Africâ, impares magnitudine, pari naturâ: quorum

LXXVIII. *This town was built by the Sidonians, who, we are informed, leaving their native country on account of intestine broils, came by shipping into those parts; and is situated betwixt the two Syrtes, which have this name given them from their nature. For they are two bays almost in the extremity of Africa, unequal in bigness,* but

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXVII. 1. *Suam salutem, illorum socios*] *Illorum* malè ad Leptitanos referas recté ad Romanos, quorum illi socii erant.

2. *Navi fecerant*] This adjective is writ *navus* or *gnavus* indifferently.

LXXVIII. 1. *Ab Sidoniis*] The Sidonians were a people in Asia, to the north of Judea, on the sea-coast, and next neighbours to the Tyrians.

2. *Nomen ex re inditum*] The word *Syrtis* is derived from the Greek verb σύρω, which signifies *to draw.*

proxuma terræ prælta sunt; cætera, utì fors tulit, alta; aliâ in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse, et sævire ventis cœpit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. Ejus civitatis lingua modò conversa connubio Numidarum: leges cultûsque pleraque Sidonica. quæ eò faciliùs retinebant, quòd procul ab imperio Regis ætatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

*of like nature: whereof the parts nigh the land are very deep; the rest, as chance directs, are* now *deep, at another time shallow. For when the sea begins to run high, and grow boisterous by the winds, the billows drag along mud and sand, and massy stones: whereby the appearance of the places is ever changing with the winds. The language alone of this city has undergone a change by their intermarriages with the Numidians:* for *their laws, and most things in their way of living are* purely *Sidonian. which they retained the more easily, because they lived at a distance from the King's court. Betwixt them and the well-inhabited* parts *of Numidia lay a huge desert.*

LXXIX. Sed quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus; non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare. eam rem locus admonuit. Quâ tempestate Carthaginienses pleræque Africæ imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, unâ specie: neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui finîs eorum dis-

LXXIX. *But since we are got into these parts, by the affairs of the Leptitani; it seems not improper to give an account of a noble and wonderful action of two Carthaginians. the place has put me in mind of it. At the time when the Carthaginians ruled over the greatest part of Africa, the Syrenians were also a great and wealthy* people. *The country in the middle* betwixt them was all *sandy,* and *of an uniform appearance: there was neither river, nor mountain, to distinguish their limits; which*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Ab imperio Regis*] By *Regis* some understand the King of Persia; but others with greater reason take it to be meant of the King of Numidia, or Jugurtha: for as Numidia lay next them, they had, in a sort, by this time become one people with the Numidians by their intermarriages, and therefore it is not improbable that Leptis at this time was much like Capsa mentioned, cap. lxxxix, that is, a free city, governed by its own laws, but under homage however to the King of Numidia.

cerneret; quæ res eos in magno diuturno bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrìmque legiónes, item classes fusæ fugatæque, et alteri alteros aliquantùm adtriverant; veriti, nè mox victos victoresque defessos alius adgrederetur, per inducias sponsionem faciunt, 'utì certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is communis utriusque populi finis haberetur.' Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philænis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardiùs ière. Id socordiâne, an casu acciderit, parûm cognovi. Cæterùm solet in illis locis tempestas haùd secùs, atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi per loca æqualia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus, arenam humo excitavit, ea magnâ vi agitata, ora oculosque implere solet: ita prospectu impedito, morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquantò posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi pœnas metuunt; criminari, Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos, conturbare rem: denique omnia malle, quàm victi abire. Sed cùm Pœni aliam conditionem, tantummodò æquam, pete-

*thing engaged them in a terrible* and *tedious war with one another. After their armies and fleets had been* often *routed and put to flight on both sides, and they had weakened one another pretty much; fearing, lest by and by some third people should fall upon the conquered and conquerors together* equally *weakened, upon a cessation of arms they make an agreement, 'that upon a day appointed deputies should set out from their* respective *homes:* and *the place where they met one another should be accounted the common boundary of both nations.' Accordingly, two brothers called Philæni, sent from Carthage, made all dispatch to perform their journey: the Cyrenians proceeded more slowly. Whether that happened through laziness, or* some *accident, I have not found. But in these parts a storm uses to detain* travellers, *just as effectually as at sea. For when a wind arising upon this country, that is level and bare of herbage, has heaved up the sand from the ground, it being driven with a mighty force, is apt to fill their mouths and eyes: and so preventing their seeing* the way *before them, retards their journey. After the Cyrenians perceived themselves a little behind, and turned apprehensive of punishment at home for mismanaging the affair; they charged the Carthaginians with setting out before the time, made a mighty bustle upon it; and in*

rent; Græci optionem Carthaginiensium faciunt, 'vel illi, quos finìs populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur: vel eâdem conditione sese, quem in locum vellent, processuros.' Philæni, conditione probatâ, seque vitamque reipublicæ condonavere, ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philænis fratribus aras consecravere; aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

*short would rather choose any thing, than go away outdone. But whereas the Carthaginians desired* any *other terms, provided only they were fair, the Greeks made this proposal to the Carthaginians, 'either to be buried alive in the place which they claimed as the boundary to their nation; or that they would advance forward to what place they inclined, upon the same condition.' The Philæni, accepting the offer, made a sacrifice of themselves and their lives to their country, and so were buried alive. The Carthaginians dedicated altars in that place to the* memory of the two *brothers the Philæni: and other honours were instituted for them at home. Now I return to my purpose.*

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam, amissâ Thalâ, nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus, pervenit ad Gætulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque, et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit: ac paullatìm consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Præterea Regis Bocchi proxumos magnis muneribus, et majoribus promissis, ad studium sui perducit. quîs adjutoribus Regem adgressus, impellit, utì ad-

LXXX. *Jugurtha, after the loss of Thala, thinking nothing sufficiently secure against Metellus, takes his way with a small retinue through vast desarts,* and *comes to the Gætulians, a savage and uncivilized sort of people, and at that time unacquainted with the Roman name. He musters up a great number of them: and by degrees trains them to keep rank, follow* their *standards, observe command, and perform other military exercises. Moreover, by great presents, and greater promises, he brings over to his interest the greatest favourites of King Bocchus, seconded by whom he addresses the King,* and *prevails with him to undertake a war against the Romans. This was*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXIX. *Græci optionem*] The Cyrenians are called *Græci*, as being a colony from Greece, *viz.* from the island of Thera, as was already observed, cap. xix. n. 6.

vorsum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id eâ gratiâ facilius proniusque fuit, quòd Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, fœdus et amicitiam petitum. quam rem opportunissumam incepto bello pauci impediverant, cæci avaritiâ, quîs omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat. Etiam anteà Jugurthæ filià Bocchi nupserat. Verùm ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur: quòd singuli, pro opibus quisque, quàm plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed Reges eò ampliùs. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur: nulla pro socia obtinet: pariter omnes viles sunt.

*the more easily and readily gone into, on account that Bocchus, in the beginning of this war, had sent ambassadors to Rome, to desire an alliance and friendship* with the Romans, *which thing,* though *likely to prove of singular advantage in the war* that was *entered upon, a few* gentlemen, *blinded with avarice, whose manner was to make sale of every thing honourable and dishonourable, obstructed. Bocchus's daughter had been married likewise before this to Jugurtha. But this relation is little regarded amongst the Numidians and Moors: because every one has a great many wives, each according to his wealth, some ten, others more; but the Kings for this reason more* than any body. *Thus their affection is distracted with variety; no wife gets the place of a companion: all are equally treated with indifference.*

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt. ibi, fide datâ et acceptâ, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: 'Romanos injustos, profundâ avaritiâ, communîs omnium hostîs esse: eamdem

LXXXI. *Accordingly their armies meet in a place agreed upon by both* the Kings. *there, after giving and taking an oath of fidelity, Jugurtha inflamed Bocchus's spirit by a speech:* setting forth, '*that the Romans were* an *unjust* people, *of insatiable avarice,* and *the common enemy of all*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXX. 1. *Facilius proniusque*] *Facilius* est *facile factu* Jugurthæ; *pronius* Bocchi inclinationem ad audendum aliquid contra Romanos innuit.

2. *Vendere mos erat*] Sallust seems to insinuate, that these gentlemen had been bribed by Jugurtha to oppose Bocchus in the alliance he was suing for; at least we may suppose them to be the same persons, who formerly had been drawn over to Jugurtha's interest by the attractive charms of his gold.

illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi: quîs omnia regna advorsa sint: tum sese, paullò antè Carthaginienses, item Regem Persen, pòst, utì quisque opulentissumus videatur, ità Romanis hostem fore.' His atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt: quòd ibi Metellus prædam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ità Jugurtha, ratus, aut, captâ urbe, operæ pretium fore; aut, si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, prælio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modò festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere; ne moras agitando, aliud, quàm bellum, mallet.

mankind: *that they had the same cause of war with Bocchus, as with himself and with other nations,* viz. *the lust of dominion:* a people *to whom all Kings* in their account *were enemies: that for the present he himself* was, *and a little before the Carthaginians, and King Perses* had been, *for the future, every one, as he appeared very opulent, would accordingly be treated as an enemy by the Romans.' After he had said this and other things to the like purpose, they resolve upon marching to the town of Cirta; because there Metellus had lodged the booty, and the prisoners, and the baggage. Jugurtha supposed by this means, that, either upon their taking the city, there would be compensation for their pains; or, if the Roman* general *should come to the relief of his friends, a battle must ensue. For he slily made this his only business, with all possible haste to widen the breach bewtixt Bocchus and the Romans; lest, upon demurring, he should make choice of something else than war.*

LXXXII. Imperator, postquàm de Regum societate cognovit, non temerè, neque, utì sæpe jam victo Jugurthâ consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit: cæterùm haud procul ab Cirtâ, castris munitis, Reges opperitur; meliùs ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam

LXXXII. *The general, after he got intelligence of the confederacy of the Kings, doth not give an opportunity of battle in a rash manner, nor in all places, as he had used to do, after Jugurtha had been several times defeated: but fortifying his camp not far from Cirta, he waits for the Kings; thinking it better, after informing himself about the Moors,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXXI. *Festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere*] Festinabat Jugurtha, ut Bocchum, facinore admisso, ad sanitatem reverti puderet.

is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Româ per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam. nam Consulem factum, jam anteà acceperat. Quîs rebus supra bonum atque honestum perculsus, neque lacrumas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus, nimis mollitèr ægritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vortebant; alii bonum ingenium contumeliâ accensum esse; multi, quòd jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur. nobis satis cognitum, illum magìs honore Marii, quàm injuriâ suâ excruciatum, neque tam anxiè laturum fuisse, si ademta provincia alii, quâm Mario, traderetur.

*because they were a new enemy, to engage upon some advantage. In the mean time he had notice by letters from Rome, that the province of Numidia was assigned to Marius. for he had heard before that he was made Consul. With which news being* prodigiously *affected, beyond what was reasonable or decent, he could neither refrain from tears, nor govern his tongue;* he was *a man extraordinary as to other qualifications,* but *bore trouble of mind in too womanish a manner. Which some imputed to pride; others, to his fine spirit that was provoked to indignation by ill usage; many* to a deep regret, *because the victory already gained was snatched out of his hands. to me it is abundantly evident, that he was more vexed at the advancement of Marius, than the injury done to himself, and would not have borne it with so much grudge, if the province taken from him had been given to another than Marius.*

LXXXIII. Igìtur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiæ videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit, postulatum, 'né sine caussâ hostis populo Romano fieret: habere eum magnam copiam societatis amicitiæque conjungendæ, quæ potior bello esset; quamquam opibus confideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum sumi

LXXXIII. *Restrained therefore by this discontent, and because it seemed a folly to take care of another man's business at his own hazard, he dispatches messengers to Bocchus, to desire, ' he would not become an enemy to the Roman people without cause: that he had a fine opportunity of striking up an alliance and friendship with them, which would be more profitable than a war: though he could rely upon his strength, he ought not to exchange certainties for uncertainties: that any war was*

facilè, cæterùm ægerrumè desinere: non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuivis etiam ignavo licere: deponi, cùm victores velint. proindè sibi regnoque consuleret; neù florentîs res suas cum Jugurthæ perditis misceret.' Ad ea Rex satis placidè verba facit: 'sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthæ fortunarum misereri. si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura.' Rursùs imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit. ille probare, partìm abnuere. Eo modo sæpe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis tempus procedere, et, ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi.

*easily undertaken, but ended with great difficulty: the beginning and ending thereof were not in the hands of the same person: any one, even a coward, might begin; it was dropped when the conqueror inclined, and therefore he should have regard to his own interest and that of his kingdom; and not embark his prosperous condition with the ruined fortune of Jugurtha.' To this the King made reply in a manner abundantly smooth: 'that he was desirous of peace, but pitied the case of Jugurtha. if the same offers were made to him, all would be agreed to.' Again the general sends messengers with an answer to Bocchus's demand. some things whereof he approved, others he rejected. In this manner, by frequently sending and resending messengers on both sides, the time passed away, and the war, agreeably to Metellus's desire, was protracted without a blow struck.*

LXXXIV. At Marius, ut suprà diximus, cupientissumâ plebe Consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, anteà jam infestus nobilitati, tum verò multus atque ferox instare singulos modò, modò universos lædere: dictita-

LXXXIV. *But Marius made Consul, as we said above, through the extraordinary zeal of the commons, after the people voted him the province of Numidia,* as he was *formerly an enemy to the nobility, turned them indeed violent and furious: he lashed sometimes particular persons, sometimes the whole body: would often brag*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXXIII. *Ille probare partìm abnuere*] *i. e. Ille partìm probabat, partìm abnuebat.* The first *partìm* is frequently omitted. Cat. cap. I. *Liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli,* (partìm) *diversis itineribus, opifices atque servitia ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant:* partìm *exquirebant duces multitudinum.*

LXXXIV. 1. *Ei provinciam—jussit*] This sentence may be thus supplied, *Ei provinciam*—dari *jussit.*

re, 'sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;' alia prætereà magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quæ bello opus erant, prima habere: postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et Regibus sociisque arcessere: prætereà, ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiæ, paucos famâ cognitos accire, et ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis [secum proficisci]. Neque illi senatus, quamquam advorsus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; cæterùm supplementum etiam lætus decreverat: quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum, aut studia volgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata, tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque prædâ locupletem, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi animis trahebant. et eos

*'that he had taken from them the consulship as spoil from the vanquished;' and* say *other high things of himself, and mortifying for them. In the mean time, he minded chiefly what was necessary for the war: demanded recruits for the army, sent for auxiliary forces from states, Kings, and allies: moreover, from Latium he called up the choicest men, most of them well known in the wars,* though *few of them by a public character, and by making interest engaged the old soldiers, who had served out their legal time, [to go along with him]. Nor durst the senate, though they were against him, refuse him as to any thing; but even chearfully voted him recruits: because the service was imagined* by them to be *disagreeable to the commonalty, and so Marius* by this means *would either miss the advantanges he proposed by the war, or* lose *the affections of the people. But this was hoped in vain, such a fondness to go along with Marius had seized most of them. Every one entertained fancies of being enriched with spoil, returning home victorious,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Neque plebi militia volenti putabatur*] See cap. lxxiii. n. 1.

3. *Belli usum, aut studia volgi amissurus*] The nobility imagined, the people would be backward, and not incline to inlist for the service; and that Marius, if he should go without them, would not be able to carry on the war to any purpose, and so would miss the riches, reputation, and triumph denoted by *belli usum,* which he expected to acquire by finishing the war, and bringing Jugurtha in chains to Rome; or if he should force the people to inlist, and go with him, contrary to their inclination, he would lose their affections, and consequently his popularity, for which he was now so famous, of which he was now so proud, and on account of which he was so much hated and envied by the nobility.

non paullùm oratione suâ Marius arrexerat. Nam postquam, omnibus, quæ postulaverat, decretis, milites scribere volt, hortandi caussâ simul, et nobilitatem, utì consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

*and other conceits of this kind, and Marius, by a speech of his, had not a little raised their expectations. For when he resolved to levy recruits, every thing being voted for him that he had desired, he called an assembly of the people, with design at once to encourage them, and, as his manner was, to inveigh against the nobility. And then he harangued them in the following manner.*

LXXXV. 'Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non îsdem artibus imperium a vobis petere, et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere: primò industrios, supplicîs, modicos esse; dehinc per ignaviam et superbiam ætatem agere. sed mihi contra ea videtur. Nam quò universa respublica pluris est, quàm consulatus aut prætura, eô majore curâ administrari, quàm hæc peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maxumo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare, simul et ærario parcere; cogere ad militiam, quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantîs, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc, alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum facta fortia, cognatorum et adfini-

LXXV. '*I am sensible, O Romans, that most men do not make application to you for preferment in the state, and behave in it, after they have compassed their design, under the same character: at first they are industrious, humble,* and *modest; afterwards they lead a life of sloth and pride. but to me the quite reverse of this appears reasonable. For how much the whole commonwealth is of more consideration than a consulate or prætorship, with just so much the more care ought its interest to be minded, than these sought after. Nor am I insensible, what a weight of business, by your great kindness, I have the charge of. To make preparations for the war, and at the same time spare the treasury; to compel* those *to the service, whom you would not incline to disoblige; to take care of every thing at home and abroad; and to do this amidst envious, thwarting, factious people, is, Gentlemen, difficult beyond common persuasion.*

### EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXXV. 1. *Sed mihi contra ea videtur*] Ita interpretari possumus, Sed mihi *id, quod est* contra ea, videtur.

um opes, multæ clientelæ, omnia hæc præsidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitæ, quas necesse est et virtute, et innocentiâ tutari. nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intellego, Quirites: omnium ora in me conversa esse; æquos bonosque favere; quippe benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt; nobilitatem locum invadendi quærere. Quò mihi acriùs adnitendum est, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc ætatis a pueritiâ fui, ut omnîs labores, pericula consueta, habeam. Quæ ante vestra beneficia gratuitò faciebam, ea utì, acceptâ mercede, deseram, non est consilium, Quiri-

*Besides, if others fail in the performance of their duty, the antiquity of their family, the heroic actions of their ancestors, the power of their relations and friends, their numerous dependents, all these,* I say, *afford them protection: all my hopes depend upon myself, which I must needs support both by good behaviour and integrity. for other things are of no force. This too I am sensible of, Gentlemen: that the eyes of all are turned upon me; that the just and the good wish well to me; in regard my good services to the state are in their view:* but *that the nobility are watching for an opportunity to fall foul upon me. Wherefore I must endeavour the more strenuously, that ye be not brought into the snare, and that they be disappointed. From my childhood to this moment I was*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt*] The verb *procedere* signifies sometimes *to come abroad, to come to public view;* and so *benefacta mea reipublicæ procedunt* will signify, *My good services to the state are displayed in their view,* or *are full before their eyes,* i.e. *under their consideration.* In this sense Cortius understands the expression, who explains *procedunt* by *reputantur, considerantur.* Marius had said in the former sentence, that the eyes of all men were turned upon him; and now he adds, that good men favoured him, or wished well to his interest; because when they looked upon him, a train of noble heroic actions presented themselves to view, and passed as it were in procession before their eyes. For the Construction, see Cat. cap. xxxii. n. 1. or the note subjoined to the 16th rule of Syntax in Mr. Ruddiman's Grammar.

3. *Neque vos capiamini*] Posses intelligere *capiamini spe.* decipiamini in favore vestro, dum ego non is essem, qualem velletis. Sed bono jure hoc *capiamini,* si ad superiora oculum vertas, ad nobilitatem, quæ locum invadendi quærebat, retuleris. Duo erant, quæ Marium ad acriùs adnitendum impellebant, quæque proposita habebat: primùm nè caperetur plebes ab nobilibus, qui, si Marius malè rempublicam gessisset, acerbissimè in illum simul, et plebem vindicaturi videbantur: alterum, ut ipse nobilitati illuderet. Ex alterâ parte studium, ex alterâ odium stimulabant.

tes. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere: mihi, qui omnem ætatem in optumis artibus egi, benefacere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurthâ jussistis; quam rem nobilitas ægerrumè tulit. Quæso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc, aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiæ ac multarum imaginum, et nullius stipendii: scilicet ut in tantâ re, ignarus omnium, trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii. Ita plerumque evenit, ut quem vos imperare jussistis, is imperatorem alium quærat. Ac ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam Consules facti sunt, acta majorum et Græcorum militaria præcepta legere cœperint: homines præposteri. Nam gerere, quam fieri, tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbiâ me

trained up *so, that I have been inured to all hardships and dangers. What things I did, from a principle of generosity, before your favours* conferred upon me, *them to neglect, now that I have received my reward, is, Gentlemen, none of my design. It is hard for those to behave with moderation in places of power, who have* only *put on a counterfeit show of goodness whilst they stood candidates: to me who have spent my whole life in the best of practices, doing good is now turned, by custom, into nature. You have commanded me to carry on the war with Jugurtha; which thing the nobility has taken heinously ill. I beseech you, think with yourselves, whether it may not be better to alter this, since you may send upon this, or any other like occasion, some one of the tribe of the nobility, a man of an ancient family and many statues, and that has never served one campaign: aye just so, that he, a stranger to all business, may, upon such an important occasion, be frighted, confounded,* and *apply to some of the commons to direct him in his duty. And so commonly it happens, that he whom you have appointed to command, must seek another to command him. And I know* some *Gentlemen, who after they were made Consuls, have begun to read the actions of our ancestors, and the military in-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Multarum imaginum*] See cap. iv. n. 2.

5. *Re atque usu prius est*] Is *gerit* antea consulatum, quam factus est qui in tribunatu, præturâ aliisque potestatibus ita agitat, ut consulatu omnium judicio dignus habeatur.

hominem novum. Quæ illi audire et legere solent, eorum partìm vidi, alia egomet gessi: quæ illi litteris, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existumate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego îllorum ignaviam; mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur. quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existumo, sed fortissumum quemque generosissumum. Ac si jam ex patribus Albini, aut Bestiæ quæri posset, mene, an illos ex se gigni maluerint; quid responsuros creditis, nisi, sese liberos quàm optumos voluisse? Quòd si jure me despiciunt, faciunt idem majoribus suis, quibus, utì mihi, ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant et labori, innocentiæ, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per hæc illum cepi. Verùm homines corrupti superbiâ ita ætatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honestè vixerint. Nè illi falsi sunt, qui divorsissumas res paritèr exspectant, ignaviæ voluptatem, et præmia virtutis. Atque etiam cùm apud vos, aut in sena-

*structions of the Greeks; a set of men that begin at the wrong end. For the exercising of an office is posterior, in point of time, to the being elected,* but ought to be *prior to it in respect of qualifications and experience. Compare now gentlemen, me an upstart with these haughty nobles. What they are accustomed to hear and read, one part of this I have seen, another I myself have acted: I have learned those things by serving in the wars, which they do from books. Now do you yourselves judge, whether actions or words are of more account. They despise the meanness of my descent; I their incapacity for business; my fortune is thrown up to me, their enormities to them. though I think nature is one, and common to all, yet the bravest is the best gentleman. And if now the question could be put to the fathers of Albinus or Bestia, whether they would rather choose that I or those were descended of them; what do you think they would answer, but that for children they wished the worthiest men? But if on good ground they despise me, they do the same by their ancestors, whose nobility like mine took its rise from their noble behaviour. They envy my preferment; therefore let them envy also my industry, my integrity, and my dangers, since by these I attained to the former. But these men corrupted with pride, so lead their life, as if they despised the honours you have to bestow;* and yet *in such a manner do they sue for them, as if they had lived honourably. Truly*

tu verba faciunt, pleràque oratione majores suos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant: quod contrà. Nam quantùm vita illorum præclarior, tantò horum socordia flagitiosior. Et profectò ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verùm id, quod multò præclarius est, meamet facta dicere licet. Nunc videte, quàm iniqui sint. Quod ex alienâ virtute sibi adrogant, id mihi ex meâ non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certè peperisse melius est, quàm acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, abundè illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maxumo vestro beneficio, cùm omnibus locis me vosque malédictis lâcerent, non placuit reticere: nè quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ex animi sententiâ, nulla ora-

*they are much mistaken, who expect at once* two *things of a very different nature, the pleasure of sloth, and the rewards of virtue. And when they harangue too before you, or in the senate, most of their speech they spend in celebrating their ancestors; they think themselves the more illustrious for relating their heroic actions: whereas it is quite otherwise. For the more illustrious the lives of the former were, so much the more scandalous is the spiritless behaviour of the latter. And indeed the case is thus: the glory of ancestors is a light upon* their *posterity,* that *suffers neither their good nor ill qualities to be concealed. I labour under a defect in this respect, Gentlemen; but I can relate my own actions, a thing that is much more glorious. Now see how unreasonable they are. What they challenge to themselves from the brave exploits of others, that they don't allow me from my own: forsooth, because I have no statues* to show, *and because my nobility is of late date; which certainly to have acquired is better than to have disgraced after receiving it* from ancestors. *Indeed I am not ignorant, that they would find plenty of elegant and polite language, if now they had a mind to make a reply. But whereas upon all occasions, since I came to be possessed of this high dignity by your great favour, they abuse me and you too with vile reproaches,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Ex animi sententiâ*] Est formula adseverandi, et vanitatem declinandi: quomodo alibi, *pro deûm atque hominum fidem, medius fidius, mehercule,* alias interposuit.

tio lædere potest. quippe vera necesse est bene prædicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem, et maxumum negotium imposuistis; etiam atque etiam reputate, num id pœnitundum sit. Non possum fidei causâ imagines, neque triumphos, aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; prætereà cicatrices advorso corpore. Hæ sunt meæ imagines, hæc nobilitas, non hæreditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ ego plurimis laboribus et pericu-

*I thought it not proper to be silent: lest some might take modesty* on this head *for an argument of guilt. For indeed, I am persuaded, no speech can hurt me. because a true one must needs speak well of me; my life and manners are proof against a false one. But since your conduct is blamed, who have laid upon me the greatest honour, and business of the highest importance; consider again and again whether this is to be repented of. I cannot, to gain credit, produce the statues, nor the triumphs, or the consulships of my ancestors; but, if occasion required,* I could show you *spears, a banner, trappings, and other military boons; and scars too on my body before. These are my statues, this my nobility, not left* to me *by inheritance, as theirs to them, but what I acquired by many hardships and dangers. My*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

7. *Hastas, vexillum, phaleras*] These were rewards commonly given by a general to such of his men as had signalized themselves in any action. The *hasta* was a fine spear of wood, without any iron on it, thence called *hasta pura:* such a one as Sylvius is represented to lean upon, Virg. Æneid. VI. v. 760. Purâ *juvenis qui nititur* hastâ. The *vexillum* was a standard curiously wrought, and of valuable materials. The *phaleræ* were of two kinds; one being a suit of rich trappings for a horse; but whether these trappings were applied as an ornament to the horse's fore-head, to the sides of his head, or to his breast, authors are not agreed. The other sort of *phaleræ* was worn by men, and is supposed to have been a collar or chain of gold that surrounded the neck, and hung down upon the breast. Besides these, many other military rewards were in use among the Romans, such as the *torques, armillæ, pateræ,* and the *coronæ* of various kinds.

8. *Cicatrices advorso corpore*] Scars or wounds on the breast, or forepart of the body, were honourable, as being received with the face to the enemy; but wounds or scars on the back, were disgraceful, as signifying that the person was a coward, and had received them whilst he was running away.

9. *Relicta, ut illa illis, sed quæ*] *Relicta, illa,* and *quæ,* are plural and neuter, referring to *imagines* and *nobilitas.*

lis quæsivi. Non sunt composita verba mea: parùm id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, utì turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Græcas didici: parùm placebat eas discere, quippe quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multò optuma reipublicæ doctus sum: hostem ferire, præsidia agitare; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et æstatem juxtà pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego præceptis milites hortabor; neque illos artè colam, me opulentèr; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam. Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque cùm tute per mollitiem agas exercitum sup-

*language is not polite*, say they: *I make not that my business; virtue* without words *shows itself sufficiently: it is they that have need of art to palliate their foul actions with flowers of rhetoric. Again I have not studied the Grecian literature: I had no inclination to study it, since it hath contributed nothing to fortitude in the teachers of it. But I have been instructed in those things* that are *by much the most useful to the commonwealth: to maul an enemy, to keep an army in a posture of defence; to dread nothing but an infamous character; to bear cold and heat alike; to lodge upon the ground;* and *endure, at the same time, hunger and fatigue. With these lessons shall I animate my soldiers; nor shall I treat them hardly,* and *myself with indulgence; nor make their toil the matter of my glory. This is the command that is useful, this* is the command *that befits a member of the com-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

10. *Parùm id facio*] Propriâ notione intellige, ut frequentèr in sermone negligentiore, quem noster hic studiosè quæsivit, pro *non id ego ago*, nimirum, ut verba mea sint composita.

11. *Ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt*] The Greeks were now a conquered people, and had submitted to the Romans; and hence Marius concludes, though very unjustly, that there could be no excellency in the Grecian literature, since it had not inspired the Greeks with courage and fortitude, which is his sense of the word *virtutem*, sufficient to protect themselves, and defend their liberty.

12. *Præsidia agitare*] Cape, ut suprà, cap. lv. *Ubi frumento, aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu* præsidium agitabant, i. e. præsidio erant frumentantibus.

13. *Gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam*] Que ferè miserrima est conditio militum, qui laborant, feriunt, cædunt, caduntque; dux gloriam rapit: illis præter vulnera aut mortem nihil fit reliqui.

14. *Supplicio cogere*] Pœnis acerbissimis ad officium suum cogere.

plicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem esse. Hæc atque talia majores vestri faciundo seque remque publicam celebravere. Quîs nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum æmulos contemnit; et omnîs honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Cæterùm homines superbissumi procùl errant. Majores eorum omnia, quæ licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui præclaram; virtutem non reliquere; neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt; quia parùm scitè convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum,

*monwealth. For to keep an army to their duty by severe discipline, when you yourself wallow in ease, is to be a tyrant, not a general. By practising these and such-like things, your ancestors aggrandized both themselves and the state. Whom our nobility depending upon, though very unlike them in their behaviour, despise us that follow their example; and demand from you all places of power, not on the score of merit, but as a debt due* to their persons. *But those haughty gentlemen are widely mistaken. Their ancestors left them all that was in their power, riches, statues,* and *their own glorious memory: they did not leave them their noble qualities; nor could they: these are neither conferred, nor received by way of gift. They say that I am a rough-hewn fellow, and of clownish fashions;*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

15. *Id est, dominum——esse*] This imports an assuming of such an absolute and despotic power as a master has over slaves.

16. *Debitos a vobis repetit*] *Repetere* est verbum eorum qui debita poscunt.

17. *Histrionem—coquum, quàm villicum*] The *histriones* here meant were buffoons, *i. e.* a sort of witty fellows, somewhat like the fools who attend doctors on the stage in this country. These the noblemen in Rome kept for their own diversion, and the entertainment of such as frequented their houses, particularly at table; they, by dancing, singing, and pieces of wit and drollery, kept the company merry. The *coquus* or cook was he who dressed the victuals, and among the ancient Romans, was one of the meanest slaves: but when luxury came to prevail, their profession required great art and skill to please the palates of the nobles, now grown nice and delicate; and instead of one or two cooks, some noblemen, in the luxurious days of Rome, would keep fifty or an hundred, nay, some authors say, a thousand. The *villici* were stewards or servants, who took care of noblemen's estates, and had the oversight of their country business. Now, in this degenerate time, some noblemen valued themselves much more upon having well accomplished buffoons and cooks,

neque pluris pretii coquum, quàm villicum, habeo. quæ mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo, et ex sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriæ, quàm divitiarum; arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo quod juvat. quod carum æstumant, id semper faciant: ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissumæ parti corporis: sudorem, pulverem, et alia talia relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verùm non est ita. Nam ubi se omnibus flagitiis dedecoravere turpissumi viri, bonorum præmia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissumè luxuria et ignavia, pessumæ artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil obficiunt; reipublicæ innoxiæ cladi sunt. Nunc quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia, poscebant, respondi; pauca de republicâ loquar. Primùm

*because I am not nice in furnishing out an entertainment, nor keep any buffoon, nor a cook of higher price than my steward.* all *which I frankly own. For I have learned from my father, and from venerable persons, that delicacy belongs to women, rugged industry to men, and that all the brave ought to have more of glory than of riches; that armour, not household furniture, is their ornament. Why then, let them ever be employed in that which pleases them,* and *which they esteem* so *dear: let them whore, let them drink; wherein they have spent their youth, therein let them pass their old age, in revelling, devoted to the belly, and the vilest part of the body: let them leave sweat, dust, and other such things to us, to whom these are more agreeable than* all their *fine entertainments. But this is not their way. For after these vile sots have disgraced themselves by all manner of scandalous vices, they proceed to snatch away the rewards of the virtuous. Thus, most unjustly, luxury and idleness, the worst of qualities, are no way detrimental to those who have practised them;* but *are of pernicious consequence to the innocent commonwealth. Now since I have answered them* so

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

than upon having faithful and able stewards to take care of their estates in the country, and would have purchased them at a far higher price. But in this Marius differs from them.

18. *Pluris pretii——habeo*] *Habere* non est æstimare, sed possidere.

19. *Ex sanctis viris*] *Sanctos* dicunt viros integerrimos, et in omni suâ vitâ ad legem compositos.

omnium de Numidiâ bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam quæ ad hoc tempus Jugurtham tuta sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est, locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus, quàm felix. Nam magna pars avaritiâ, aut temeritate ducum adtrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris ætas, adnitimini mecum, et capessite rempublicam: neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum, aut imperatorum superbiâ, metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in prælio consultor idem, et socius periculi vobiscum adero: meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxtà geram. Et profectò, dîs juvantibus, omnia matura sunt, victoria, præda, laus: quæ si dubia aut procùl essent, tamen omnîs bonos reipublicæ subvenire decebat. Etenim ignaviâ nemo immortalis factus: neque quisquam parens liberis, utì æterni forent, optavit; magìs, utì boni ho-

*far as my character, not their infamous behaviour, required; I shall speak a few words concerning the present state of affairs. And first of all, as to Numidia, have a good heart, Gentlemen. For you have removed all that hitherto secured Jugurtha, avarice, inexperience,* and *pride. And then there is an army there, well acquainted with the country; but, upon my word, more valiant than fortunate. For a great part of it has been destroyed by the avarice or rashness of their commanders. Wherefore you, whose age is fit for war, exert yourselves with me, and espouse the cause of the commonwealth: nor let fear discourage any one on account of the misfortune of others, or the haughtiness of commanders. I in the march, in the battle, shall be present with you, your adviser, and companion of your danger; and upon all occasions shall treat myself and you alike. And indeed with the help of the gods, all things are ready* for you, *victory, spoil,* and *glory: and though they were uncertain, or at a distance, yet would it become all gallant men to support the cause of the state. For no man has been rendered immortal*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

20. *Avaritiâ, aut temeritate ducum*] By the avarice of Bestia, as in cap. xxix. and of Albinus, cap. xxxvi. by the rashness of Aulus, as in cap. xxxvii. and xxxviii. and probably he also has in his thought the unsuccessful attempt of Metellus against Zama, and the loss of the garrison at Vaga.

21. *Quibus militaris ætas*] From the age of seventeen years and upwards, to fifty.

nestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent: nam strenuis abundè dictum puto.

*by lazy inactivity: nor did ever any father wish, that his sons might never die; but rather that they might live like brave and worthy men. I should say more, Gentlemen, if words would put courage into cowards: for to the valiant, I think, abundance has been said.'*

LXXXVI. Hujuscemodi oratione habitâ, Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, properè commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus navîs onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse intereà milites scribere, non more majorum,[1] neque ex classibus, sed utì cujusque lubido erat, capite censos pleros-

LXXXVI. *Marius, after the delivery of this speech, perceiving the spirit of the people* to be *much elevated, loads his ships in all haste with provisions, money, arms,* and *other necessaries:* and *orders his lieutenant-general A. Manlius to go along with them. In the mean time he levies soldiers, not according to ancient usage, nor out of the* several *classes, but every one that inclined, most of them of the very lowest rank.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXXVI. 1. *Neque ex classibus*] Servius Tullius, the sixth King of Rome, divided the people according to their estates or riches, into six ranks, called *classes,* with a design to regulate the taxes, the form of procedure in the election of the magistrates, and the levying of soldiers, according to the wealth, dignity, and order of these *classes.* The first *classis* consisted of the richest citizens; and was subdivided into 98 divisions, called *centuriæ* or *centuries.* The second *classis* was next in dignity and wealth to the first, and consisted of 22 centuries; the third of as many: the fourth had 20; the fifth 30; and the sixth had but one. At the election of the magistrates they began with the first *classis,* and collected the votes *centuriatim,* or according to the order of the centuries in it, beginning with the first: then they proceeded to the second *classis,* and from that to the third, *&c.* and such assemblies were called *comitia centuriata.* In much the like manner did they proceed in levying soldiers. Those of the first *classis* being the richest, and making the greatest figure, had the peculiar name of *classici;* and all the rest, of what class soever, were said to be *infra classem:* and hence too the first-rate writers among the Romans have got the name of *classici auctores.*

2. *Capite censos*] The sixth *classis* consisted of the poorer sort of citizens, and had very little to say in public affairs; the matter being commonly determined before it came to their turn to vote. They were scarcely ever listed for soldiers except on extraordinary occasions, as being persons who had nothing to lose at home, and therefore under the greater temptation of deserting to the enemy. They were divided into two orders; the

que. Id factum alii inopiâ bonorum, alii per ambitionem Consulis memorabant; quòd ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quærenti egentissumus quisque opportunissumus: cui neque sua curæ, quippe quæ nulla sunt; et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquantò numero, quàm decretum erat, in Africam profectus, diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato. nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat; nè videret ea, quæ audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

*Some said this was done for want of those of the richer sort, others*, that it was *out of a popular design in the Consul; because he had been much cried up and advanced by this sort of* people; *and to a man aiming at power, the most needy are the most for his purpose: as who have no concern about property, because they have none: and every thing, with* the view of *gain*, to them *appears honourable. Wherefore Marius setting sail for Africa, with a number somewhat greater than had been voted him, in a few days arrives at Utica. The army is delivered up to him by the lieutenant-general P. Rutilius. for Metellus avoided the presence of Marius: for fear of seeing those things, which his spirit could not endure, when he heard them.*

LXXXVII. Sed Consul, expletis legionibus, cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et præ-

LXXXVII. *But the Consul, having completed the legions, and the cohorts of the allies* out of his new levies, *directs his march*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

first and more honourable were the *proletarii*, so called from *proles*, because the bringing up of children was the greatest service they did the state: the other order was the *capite censi*, so called because they were entered and valued in the rolls for their persons only; but families, children, or estates, they had none: all they could boast of, was, that they were not *capite minuti*, or had not lost the privilege and right of citizens. Here observe, that Sallust opposes *classes* to *capite censi*; and the reason is, because the whole sixth *classis*, and particularly this last order, was so inconsiderable, and in so much contempt, that they were scarcely looked upon as a *classis* at all: and accordingly Livy and other Roman historians, when speaking of the *classis*, scarcely mention ever more than five.

3. *Inopiâ bonorum*] *Boni* sunt ditiores, qui sunt in classibus.

4. *Auctusque erat*] Auctus nempe honore, promotus, in eam dignitatem evectus.

LXXXVII. 1. *Cohortibusque auxiliariis*] Cui bono hic additum sit *auxiliariis*, multum inquirendo non reperias. Nam cùm cohortes adjunguntur legionibus, semper auxiliariæ intelliguntur.

dâ onustum proficiscitur. omnia ibi capta militibus donat. deìn castella et oppida naturâ et viris parùm munita adgreditur: prælia multa, cæterùm levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interìm novi milites sine metu pugnæ adesse: videre fugientîs capi, occidi; fortissumum quemque tutissumum: armis libertatem, patriam parentesque et alia omnia tegi: gloriam atque divitias quæri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium æqualis facta. At Reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, divorsi in locos difficilîs abeunt. Ità Jugurthæ placuerat, speranti, mox effusos hostîs invadi *posse*: Romanos, sicutì plerosque, remoto metu, laxiùs licentiùsque futuros.

*into a fruitful country and full of plunder, makes a present of every thing taken there to the soldiers, and then attacks* such *forts and towns* as were *but slightly secured by natural strength or garrisons: fought several battles in different places, but inconsiderable. In the mean time the new* raised *soldiers attended in the engagements without fear: they saw such as fled taken prisoners,* or *slain; that the bravest were the safest: that liberty, their country and parents, and every thing else, were secured by arms;* and *glory and riches acquired. Thus in a short time the new and the old* soldiers *incorporated, and the courage of all was rendered equal. But the two Kings, when they got notice of the arrival of Marius, retired in separate bodies to places of difficult access. This was Jugurtha's contrivance, in hopes that the enemy in a little time, being dispersed, might be attacked* to good advantage; supposing *that the Romans, like most other men, upon the removal of fear, would be more remiss, and take greater liberties.*

LXXXVIII. Metellus intereà Romam profectus,

LXXXVIII. *In the mean time Metellus, contrary to his expecta-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Cæterum levia, alia aliis locis*] In most copies, and in Cortius's edition too, the reading is, *cæterùm alia levia, aliis locis:* but in compliance with what Cortius himself observes, I have changed their order. His words are, *Nihil verius, quàm, quod Ciacconius etiam vidit, scribendum esse:* cæterùm levia, alia aliis locis facere.

3. *Invadi* posse] Speranti, mox effusos hostîs invadi, refecto verbo *posse*, Crispum scripsisse existimo: nam illud *posse* ipsam spem Jugurthæ corrumpere videtur. Sic *sperans invadi*, ut Liv. XXXII. cap. ii. *His copiis ita dimissis, eò intentiùs Romanas undique* instat capi *stationes;* i. e. ut capiantur. Sperans ut invadantur.

contra spem suam, lætissumis animis excipitur: plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxtà carus. Sed Marius impigrè prudentèrque suorum et hostium res paritèr adtendere; cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contrà esset; explorare itinera Regum, consilia et insidias antevenire: nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gætulos, et Jugurtham ex sociis nostris prædam agentes, sæpe adgressus itinere fuderat, ipsumque Regem haùd procùl ab oppido Cirtâ armis exuerat. Quæ postquam gloriosa modò, neque belli patrandi cognovit, statuit urbîs, quæ viris aut loco pro hostibus, et advorsum se opportunissumæ erant, singulas circumvenire: ita Jugurtham aut præsidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut prælio certaturum. Nam

*tion, upon his arrival in Rome, was very joyfully received: being equally acceptable to the commons and the senate, now that the* spirit of *envy had left them. But Marius, with great application and prudence, weighed equally the circumstances of his own men and those of the enemy; observed what was advantageous for each, or otherwise: watched the motions of the* two *Kings, prevented their plots and designs: suffered no remissness with himself, nor security with them. And accordingly, he had frequently attacked and routed when upon a march, both the Gætulians and Jugurtha, as they were making off with spoils from our allies, and made the King himself throw away his arms* and run for it, *not far from the town of Cirta. But as he found this was only matter of specious show, and not the way to finish the war, he resolved to invest all the cities, that, by their number of people or situation, were most convenient for defending the enemy and annoying him: by this means Jugurtha would either be stript of those*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXXVIII. 1. *Lætissumis animis excipitur*] He was not only joyfully received, but was afterwards honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *Numidicus;* as we learn from Vell. Pat. ii. cap. ii. Eutrop. IV. cap. xxviii. and other authors. He had his triumph in the year of Rome 646.

2. *Armis exuerat*] *i. e.* fecerat, ut Jugurtha abjectis armis fugeret. Sic *exuere urbe, castris, provinciis,* quos eò necessitatis adigimus, ut relinquant, aut perdant urbem, castra, *&c.*

3. *Neque belli patrandi*] The sentence is to be resolved thus: *Quæ postquam cognovit* esse *modò gloriosa* facta, *et non* facta *patrandi belli,* i. e. ad bellem patrandum facientia. See Cat. cap. 6. n. 5.

4. *Præsidiis nudatum*] *Nudatum* cape pro *nudatum fore,* ut suprà cap. lxxvi. *infectum* pro *infectum fore.*

Bocchus nuncios ad eum sæpe miserat, 'velle populi Romani amicitiam, nè quid ab se hostile timeret.' Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus graviùs accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parùm exploratum.

*strong holds, if he suffered it, or else engage in battle. For Bocchus had frequently sent messengers to him 'to signify that he was desirous of the friendship of the Ròman people,* and *that he need not fear any hostilities from him.' Whether he only pretended this, that he might fall the heavier upon him by surprise, or from a fickleness of temper, was accustomed to waver in his resolutions about peace and war, I have not been able to discover.*

LXXXIX. Sed Consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire: partim vi, alia metu, aut præmia ostentando avortere ab hostibus. Ac primò mediocria gerebat, existumans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi procùl abesse, et aliis negotiis intentum accepit; majora et aspera adgredi tempus visum. Erat inter ingentîs solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa: cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissumi habebantur: muniti advorsam hostîs, non mœnibus modò et armis atque viris, multò magis locorum as-

LXXXIX. *But the Consul, as he had resolved, went to work with the fortified towns and castles; some of them he drew over from the enemy by force, others by fear, or by offering rewards. And at first he set about projects that were of no great importance, expecting Jugurtha, to protect his subjects, would come to a battle. But when he found that he was at a good distance, and taken up with other affairs; he thought it time to attempt greater and more difficult enterprises. There was in the midst of a vast wilderness a great and strong town, by name Capsa: the founder whereof was said to be Hercules the Libyan. The people thereof were excused from the payment of taxes by Jugurtha, were under a very gentle government, and upon these accounts were thought very loyal: they were secured against an enemy, not only by* their *walls, arms,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

LXXXIX. 1. *Majora et aspera*] *i. e.* majora et magìs aspera. Et *majora* intelligitur *magìs.*

2. *Hercules Libys*] There were many that went under the name of *Hercules,* such as Hercules Ægyptius, Tyrius, Celticus, Tirynthius, Libycus or Libys, *&c.* See cap. xviii. n. 1.

peritate. Nam, præter oppido propinqua, alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquæ, infesta serpentibus: quarum vis, sicutì omnium ferarum, inopiâ cibi acrior. ad hoc, natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magìs, quàm aliâ re, accenditur. Ejus potiundi Marium maxuma cupido invaserat; cùm propter usum belli, tùm quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magnâ gloriâ ceperat, haùd dissimiliter situm munitumque: nisi quod apud Thalam haùd lòngè a mœnibus aliquot fontes erant; Capsenses unâ modò, atque eâ intra oppidum, jugi aquâ, cæterâ pluviâ utebantur. Id ibique, et in omni Africâ, qui procul a mari incultiùs agebant, eò faciliùs tolerabatur, quia Numidæ plerumque lacte et ferinâ carne vescebantur, neque salem, neque alia irritamenta gulæ quærebant: cibus illis advorsum famem atque sitim, non lubidini, neque luxuriæ erat.

*and men*, but *much more by the natural wildness of the country* about them. *For, excepting the parts nigh the town, all the rest was waste, uncultivated, in want of water*, and *infested with serpents: whose fierceness, like that of all wild beasts, becomes more violent by want of food. besides, the nature of serpents, mischievous* enough in *itself, is inflamed more by thirst than any other thing. A very great desire of making himself master of this* city *had seized Marius; as well for the behoof of the war, as because it appeared to be a very difficult enterprise: and Metellus, to his great honour, had taken the town of Thala, not unlike it for situation and strength; except that at Thala there were some springs not far from the walls; the Capsensians had but one spring, and that within the town, all the other water they had was from the heavens. This was the more easily borne with, both there, and in all the parts of Africa, where the people being at a distance from the sea, were less polished in their fashions; because the Numidians lived mostly on milk and the flesh of wild beasts, and sought not after salt, or other incentives to appetite: food they had against hunger and thirst, not for lust nor luxury.*

XC. Igitur Consul, om-

XC. *Wherefore the Consul,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *In omni Africâ, qui*] Sallust often moulds his relatives and adjectives according to the sense, without minding gender and number of antecedents and substantives: cap. xvi. *Vicit tamen in senatu* illa pars, qui *vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebant.* Cap. lviii. *Magna* pars volnerati, *aut* occisi. See Cat. cap. v. n. 2.

nibus exploratis, credo, dîs fretus; nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat: quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quòd Numidæ pabulo pecoris magìs, quàm arvo student, et, quodcumque natum fuerat, jussu Regis in loca munita contulerant: ager autem aridus, et frugum vacuus eâ tempestate, nam æstatis extremum erat; tamen pro rei copiâ satis providentèr exornat: pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus prædæ fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum adtribuit: A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, îre jubet; se prædabundum post paucos dies eòdem venturum. Sic incœpto suo occulto, pergit ad flumen Tanam.

*having strictly examined into all circumstances,* proceeds in his design, *depending upon the gods, I suppose; for he could not provide effectually against so great difficulties by any contrivance* of his own: *for want of corn too was a hardship he laboured under, because the Numidians apply themselves more to grazing than tillage, and any crop there was, they had carried off by the King's order into fortified places: the fields too were parched, and bare of forage at that time, for it was the end of summer; yet, considering all circumstances, he equipped himself with abundance of precaution: all the cattle that they had picked up some days before, he gave to their auxiliary horse to drive; orders his lieutenant-general A. Manlius to march with some light-armed cohorts to the town of Lares, where he had laid up the money for the pay of the army and his provisions;* and tells him, *that, after having gone a plundering, he would come in a few days to the same place. Thus concealing his designs, away he marches to the river Tana.*

XCI. Cæterùm in itinere quotidiè pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas æqualitèr distribuerat, et ex coriis utres utì

XCI. *And in his march he daily disposed of the cattle for the use of the army among the companies of foot and troops of horse proportionally,* and *took care to*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XC. *Frumenti inopia tentabatur*] *Inopia,* says Cortius, is here the nominative. *Crispo,* inquit, *illæ res dicuntur* tentari, *quæ, periculum est, nè eveniant, aut quas quærimus experimur, ut eveniant.*

2. *Ad oppidum Laris*] Whether *Laris* be the genitive singular, or the accusative plural, is uncertain; but the latter seems most agreeable to our author's manner.

XCI. 1. *Æqualiter distribuerat*] That is, if to each *centuria* or company

fierent, curabat: simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et ignarus omnibus, parare, quæ mox usui forent. denique sexto die, cùm ad flumen ventum est, maxuma vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque, utì simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet: omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aquâ modò seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto, consedit. idem proxumâ facit. deìn tertiâ, multò ante lucis adventum, pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsâ non amplius duûm millium intervallo: ibique, quàm occultissimè potest, cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed ubi dies cœpit, et Numidæ nihil hostile metuentes multi oppido egressi; repentè omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissumos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam, et portas obsidere jubet: deindè ipse intentus properè sequi, neque milites prædari sinere. Quæ postquam oppidani cognove-

*have leathern bottles made out of the hides: thus at once he made the want of corn easy* to them, *and provided, whilst all were ignorant* of his design, *what by and by would be of use. finally, against the sixth day, when they arrived at the river, a great quantity of leathern bottles were made. There pitching his camp with a slight fortification, he orders the soldiers to take a refreshment, and be in readiness to march precisely at sun-set:* and *laying aside all* other *baggage, to load themselves and the beasts of burden with water only. After this, when he thought it time, he draws out of the camp, and marching all night, incamped,* again. *he does the same the next* night. *then on the third, long before the approach of light, he arrives at a place full of small hills, at the distance of not above two miles from Capsa: and there he stays, as privately as possible, with all his army. But as soon as day appeared, and the Numidians, as being under no apprehensions of an enemy, had gone many of them out of town; on a sudden he orders all his horse, and with them the nimblest of the foot, to make for Capsa with all speed, and secure the gates: and then follows them* himself *with all diligence and expedition, and suffers not the soldiers to plunder.*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

of foot, which consisted of 100 men, he gave, for example, ten sheep, then each *turma* or troop of horse, which consisted of thirty men, got three.

2. *Cum occasu solis egrederentur*] Intellige *castris*.

re; res trepidæ, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra mœnia in hostium potestate, coegere, utì deditionem facerent. Cæterùm, oppidum incensum: Numidæ puberes interfecti; alii omnes venum dati: præda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli, non avaritiâ neque scelere Consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthæ opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis: genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio, neque metu coërcitum.

*Which after the town's people were apprised of, the confusion of their case, the great terror* they were under, *the unexpected calamity, and withal part of the inhabitants being without the walls in the hands of the enemy, obliged them to make a surrender. However, the town was burnt: the Numidians of age put to the sword; all the rest sold:* and *the plunder divided among the soldiers. This piece of execution, contrary to the right of war, was occasioned, not by the avarice or cruelty of the Consul; but because the place was very advantageous for Jugurtha,* and *difficult for us to come at:* and *the people fickle, faithless,* and *capable of being kept in subjection, neither by kindness nor terror.*

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius, sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit; magnus et clarus anteà, major et clarior haberi cœpit. Omnia non bene consulta in virtutem trahebantur: milites modesto imperio habiti simul, et locupletes ad cœlum ferre: Numidæ magìs, quàm mortalem timere: postremò, omnes socii atque hostes credere, illi aut mentem divinam, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed

XCII. *After Marius had executed* this *so important a project, without any detriment to his own men;* though *he was great and illustrious before, he* now *began to be looked upon as greater and more illustrious. All his performances,* even when *ill advised, were ascribed to good conduct: the soldiers being at once under a gentle command and enriched* with plunder, *cried him up to the skies; the Numidians dreaded him as more than man: in short, all, both allies and enemies, did believe he had either a divine mind in him, or that all things were*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Contra jus belli*] Quod deditis parcere jubet.

4. *Coërcitum*] *Coërcitum* is used here as a word of *indefinite time*, or as applicable to signify what is future, as well as what is past: and so Perizonius explains it, Ad Sanct. I. Minerv. cap. xv. *Haud temere unquam* coërcitum, et *proinde neque facile deinceps* coërcendum.

Consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit: pauca, repugnantibus Numidis, capit; plura deserta, propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque cæde omnia complentur. Denique, multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, ad aliam rem adgreditur, non eâdem asperitate, quâ Capsensium, cæterùm haùd secùs difficilem. Namque haùd longè a flumine Muluchâ, quod Jugurthæ Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter cæteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis naturâ, velut opere atque consulto, præcèps. Quem locum Marius, quòd ibi Regis thesauri erant, summâ vi capere intendit. Sed ea res fortè, quam consilio, meliùs gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquæ: aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus lo-

*presignified to him by the intimation of the gods. But the Consul, after this successful adventure, marches against other towns: a few, where the Numidians made opposition, he takes* by force; *more of them, being deserted for fear of the terrible fate of the Capsensians, he destroys by fire: all parts are filled with mourning and slaughter. Finally, having made himself master of many places, and most of them without loss of blood, he goes upon another design, not of the same desperate nature as that against the Capsensians, but no less difficult. For, not far from the river Mulucha, which divided the kingdoms of Jugurtha and Bocchus, there was, in the midst of a plain, a rocky hill, large enough for a small castle,* and *towering to a prodigious height, with one very narrow ascent left to it: for on all sides it was by nature steep, as if* made so by *art and design. Which place Marius with might and main sets about the taking of, because the King's treasure was* lodged *there. But this attempt succeeded more by chance than good management. For the castle had in it plenty of men and arms, great store of corn, and a spring of water: the si-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XCII. 1. *Non eâdem asperitate*] The meaning is, that the project was difficult, nay, as difficult as the taking of Capsa; but that the difficulties in this case, and in that of Capsa, were not of the same kind.

2. *Inter cæteram planitiem*] *Inter* est in medio; atque ita evolvas, *inter planitiem, quæ reliqua circa erant*, si ita loqui licet.

3. *Mediocri castello satis patens*] Significat montem tam latè patuisse, ut caperet mediocre castellum.

cus importunus: iter castellanorum augustum admodùm, utrimque præcisum. Vineæ cum ingenti periculo frustra agebantur. nam cùm eæ paullùm processerant, igni, aut lapidibus corrumpebantur: milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci: neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare: optumus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; cæteris metus augeri.

*tuation was quite unfit for ramparts, turrets, and other works: the way up to the castle was very narrow, with a precipice on both sides. The vineæ were applied with vast hazard, and to no purpose, for after they had advanced a little, they were destroyed by fire or stones: the soldiers could neither stand before the works, because of the steepness of the ground; nor manage their business within the vineæ without danger: the bravest of them fell, or were wounded;* and *the rest sadly discouraged.*

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumtis, anxius trahere cum animo, omitteretnè incœptum, quoniam frustra erat; an fortunam opperiretur, quâ sæpe prosperè usus. Quæ cùm multos dies, noctes æstuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus, ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haùd procùl ab latere castelli, quod advorsum præliantibus erat, animum advortit inter saxa repentìs cochleas: quarum cùm unam atque alteram, deìn plures peteret, studio legundi paullatim propè ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi, post-

XCIII. *But Marius, after spending many days and much pains, was with much regret considering in his own mind, whether he should drop his undertaking, because it had no success; or wait upon fortune, which he had often found friendly. On which, when full of distraction and irresolution, he had employed his thoughts for several days* and *nights, by chance a certain Ligurian, a common soldier of the auxiliary battalions, having gone out of the camp to get water, observed* some *snails creeping among the stones, not far from the side of the castle, which lay out of the besiegers' view: of which, whilst he reached at one and a second, and then more, through a desire of*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Pro opere consistere*] By *opere* he means the *vineæ*.

5. *Propter iniquitatem loci*] is literally, *because of the unevenness of the ground*, *i. e.* because the ground was not level, but very steep, or had a great ascent; so that the soldier stood as on the side of a hill or precipice.

quam solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii cupido ignara visundi invadit. Et fortè in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paullulùm modò prona, dein flexa atque aucta in altitudinem, quò cuncta gignentium natura fert: cujus ramis modò, modò eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus, castelli planitiem perscribit; quòd cuncti Numidæ intenti præliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quæ mox usui fore ducebat, eâdem regreditur, non temerè, utì adscenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium properè adit; acta edocet, hortatur, ab eâ parte, quâ ipse adscenderat, castellum tentet: pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa cognitum ex præsentibus misit: quorum utì cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paullùm arrectus. Itaque ex copiâ tubicinum et cornicinum, numero quinque quâm velocissumos delegit, et cum his, præsidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones: omnîs Liguri parere jubet, et ei

*gathering, he was got up, by little and little, almost to the top of the rock. Where after he found all was quiet, a curiosity, usual to human nature, of prying into things unknown, seized him. And by chance in this place a large oak-tree had grown out among the stones, bending downwards a little near the root, then taking a turn and shooting upwards, whither nature carries all vegetables: the Ligurian climbing up, one while by the boughs of this, another while by pieces of the rock standing out* from the rest, *descries the platform of the castle; because all the Numidians were busily engaged in fight with the besiegers. After making all the observations, which by and by he thought might be of service, he returns back the same way, not carelessly, as he went up, but trying and viewing all about him* well. *Whereupon he goes in all haste to Marius; tells him what he has done, advises him to make an attempt upon the castle on that side where he went up: promises that he would lead the way, and be the foremost in the danger. Marius sent* some *of those that attended him along with the Ligurian, to examine into the proposal: who, according to their different tempers, brought word the matter was difficult or easy. The Consul's mind however was a little elevated. Wherefore, out of all*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XCIII. *Paullulùm modò prona*] *Modò* may be here rendered *at first, i. e.* near the root.

negotio proxumum diem constituit.

*the trumpeters and corneticrs, he picked five of the most sprightly, and with them four centurions, for a guard: orders them all to follow the direction of the Ligurian, and appoints the next day for* the execution of *the project.*

XCIV. Sed ubi ex præcepto tempus visum; paratis compositisque omnibus, ad locum pergit. Cæterùm illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, utì prospectus nisusque per saxa faciliùs foret; super terga gladii et scuta; verùm ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratiâ simul, et offensa quò leviùs streperent. Igitur prægrediens Ligus saxa, et si quæ vetustate radices, eminebant, laqueis vinciebat, quibus adlevati faciliùs adscenderent. interdùm timidos insolentiâ itineris levare manu: ubi paullò asperior adscensus,

XCIV. *Now when the time appointed was come; having prepared and put all things in order, he,* namely, *the* Ligurian, *goes to the place. But those who commanded the companies,* viz. the centurions, *having been instructed before-hand by their guide, had changed their arms and dress, being bare-headed ana bare-foot, that they might look about them, and climb the rock with more ease: their swords and shields* were *upon their backs; but the latter were of the Numidian kind* made *of hides as well for lightness, as that they might make less noise if they chanced to dash* against the rock. *The Ligurian therefore leading the way, tied ropes about the stones, and any old tree roots that stuck out, that supported by these,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XCIV. 1. *Illi, qui centuriis præerant, prædocti ab duce*] Cortius thinks this reading may be tolerated, but yet has some suspicion, that the words *qui centuriis præerant* have been a marginal note, and brought into the text by some unwary or ignorant transcriber. These being thrown out, the pronoun *illi* will denote the *tubicines, cornicines,* and *centuriones,* mentioned toward the end of the preceding chapter, who, being nine in number, made, with their *dux* the Ligurian, ten persons in all, that were to go upon this enterprise.

2. *Ponderis gratiâ*] i. e. *ponderis levioris gratiâ.* Ita numerus, mensura, magnitudo, et alia ejusmodi haúd raró ponuntur, ut tale adjectivum intelligendum sit. Eo modo Cor. Nep. præf. *Plura persequi* magnitudo *voluminis prohibet.* Non alitèr ea intelliguntur, quàm *locus, tempus, valetudo, casus, caussa, gratia,* multa prætereá quæ proprie *media* sunt; sed sæpiùs in alteram partem nudè sumuntur.

3. *Vetustate radices*] *Per* seu *propter vetustatem.* Nam radices magnarum arborum per vetustatem prominere solent.

singulos præ se inermos mittere; deindè ipse cum illorum armis sequi; quæ dubia nisu videbantur potissumus tentare, ac sæpiùs eâdem adscendens descendensque, deìn statìm digrediens, cæteris audaciam addere. Igitur diù multùmque fatigati, tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab eâ parte: quòd omnes, sicutì aliis diebus, advorsum hostìs aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis, quæ Ligus egerat, cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos prælio Numidas habuerat, tum verò cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine actâ succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminùs terrere. At Numidæ sæpè anteà vineis Romanorum subvorsis, item incensis, non castelli mœnibus sese tutabantur; sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare: maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare: militibus nostris Jugurthæ servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Inte-

*they might climb up the more easily. sometime he would pull up by the hand such as were timorous, by reason of their not having been accustomed to this kind of road: where the ascent was a little more rugged, he would send them up unarmed one by one before him; and then followed himself with their arms; what places seemed dangerous to climb, he first of all made trial of, and by going up and coming down the same several times, and then presently stepping to a side, he added courage to the rest. Wherefore, after long and much fatigue, at length they got up to the castle,* that was *left naked on that side: because all, as on other days, were on the side next the enemy. Marius, when he was informed by messengers what the Ligurian had done, though he had kept the Numidians close at work the whole day, yet then, having encouraged the soldiers, and sallied himself out of the vineæ, forming a testudo, advanced forward* to the wall, *and at the same time terrified the enemy with his engines, and archers, and slingers, at a distance. But the Numidians, having broke down the vineæ of the Romans often before now, and burnt them too, did not use*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Testudine actâ*] The *testudo*, said to have been invented at the Trojan war, was a figure the soldiers cast themselves into, so that their targets would close altogether above their heads, and protect them from the missive weapons of the enemy; and this *target fence*, from the resemblance it has to a tortoise-shell, got the name of *testudo*. But besides this use of the word, the Romans in general called all their covered defensive machines *testudines*.

rìm omnibus Romanis hostibusque prælio intentis, magnâ utrìmque vi, pro gloriâ atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repentè a tergo signa canere: ac primò mulieres et pueri, qui vìsum processerant, fugere: deìndè utì quisque muro proxumus erat, postremò cuncti armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eò acriùs Romani instare, fundere, ac plerosque tantummodò sauciare, deìn super occisorum corpora vadere; avidi gloriæ, certantes murum petere: neque quemquam omnium præda morari. Sic fortè correcta Marii temeritas, gloriam ex culpâ invenit.

*to defend themselves within the walls of the castle; but patrolled day and night before the walls: railed at the Romans, and upbraided Marius with madness; threatened our soldiers with being made slaves to Jugurtha,* and *were exceeding proud of their advantage. In the mean time, whilst the Romans and enemies were all engaged in fight, with great fury on both sides, the one party contending for glory and victory, the other for their lives, on a sudden the trumpets sounded behind* the enemies *backs: and first the women and children, who had come out to see* the fight, *fled; after them those that were nearest the wall, at last all, armed and unarmed. When this happened, the Romans pushed forward with so much the greater violence, dispersed them, and most of them they only wounded, and then made their way over the bodies of the slain;* and, *breathing after glory, they run to the wall, striving who should be foremost, nor did the plunder retard any one of them all. Thus the rash conduct of Marius, rectified by fortune, procured him glory from a fault.*

XCV. Cæterùm dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla Quæstor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; quos utì ex Latio et a sociis cogeret, Romæ relictus erat. Sed quoniam tanti viri res admonuit: idoneum visum est, de naturâ cultuque ejus paucis dicere. neque enim alio loco de

XCV. *But whilst this affair is transacting, his Quæstor, L. Sulla, arrived in the camp with a great body of horse: for the raising whereof in Latium, and among the allies, he had been left at Rome. Now as the subject has led us to the mention of this great man; I think it proper to say a little of his character and manners, for I am not to speak of the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XCV. 1. *Quos utì ex Latio*] *Quos* is here plural, as referring to the collective antecedent *equitatu.*

Sullæ rebus dicturi sumus: et L. Sisenna optumè et diligentissumè omnium qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parùm mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciæ, familiâ propè jam exstinctâ majorum ignaviâ: litteris Græcis atque Latinis juxtà atque doctissumè eruditus; animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriæ cupidior: otio luxurioso; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quòd de uxore potuit honestiùs consuli: facundus, callidus, et amicitiâ facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis; multarum rerum, ac maxumè pecuniæ largitor. Atque felicissumo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit: multique dubitavere, fortior, an fe-

*affairs of Sulla, in any other place: and L. Sisenna, though he has compiled his history in the best manner, and with the greatest accuracy, of any who have written on this subject, appears to me to have spoke in a strain not free enough. Sulla then was of the Patrician rank, his family by this time being almost sunk by the want of spirit in his ancestors: he was equally instructed in the learning of Greece and Italy, and very accurately in both; of a great soul, fond of pleasure, but fonder of glory: in times of leisure he was addicted to luxury: yet pleasure never hindered him from* serious *business, except that he might have acted more for his honour with respect to his wife: he was eloquent, artful, and frank in his friendship; had an incredible reach of wit to disguise matters; was liberal of many things, and especially of* his *money. And though he was the most fortunate of all men, before his success in the civil wars, yet his*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *L. Sisenna*] This was a Roman historian, who flourished in the time of the Jugurthine war, and a long while after it too: he wrote several histories, and particularly that of the civil wars of Marius and Sulla: but his works are all lost except a few fragments.

3. *De uxore potuit honestiùs consuli*] *Potuit consuli* are here used impersonally, and signify, that his own honour or reputation might have been better consulted by him in his behaviour with respect to his wife, whom, it is said, he used ill, by indulging himself in too much intimacy with other women. In this sense Plutarch, in his life of Sulla, seems to understand these words of Sallust. Some however take the expression to refer only to a dishonourable marriage he made in his old age with one Valeria.

4. *Numquam super industriam fortuna fuit*] Numquam fortuna majora illi contulit, quam ipse meruerat, omnisque suæ fortunæ ipse faber fuit.

licior esset. nam posteâ quæ fecerit, incertum habeo, pudeat magìs, an pigeat disserere.

*fortune was never superior to his merit: and many have made a question of it, whether he was more brave, or more fortunate. for as to what he did afterwards, I am in doubt whether it would give me more shame or sorrow to relate it.*

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, ut suprà dictum, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis anteà et ignarus belli, sollertissumus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc, milites benignè adpellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere: sed ea properantiùs, quàm æs mutuum reddere: ipse ab nullo repetere: magìs id laborare, ut illi quàm plurimi deberent: joca atque seria cum humillumis agere: in operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias multus adesse: neque interìm, quod prava ambitio solet, Consulis, aut cujusquam boni famam lædere: tantummodò neque consilio, neque manu priorem alium pati; plerosque antevenire. Quìs rebus, brevì Mario militibusque carissumus factus.

XCVI. *Sulla then, as has been said above, after he arrived in Africa, and the camp of Marius with the horse,* though *raw before, and unacquainted with war, became in a short time the most accomplished of them all. Besides, he was complaisant in his address to the soldiers; he bestowed favours on many upon their request, on others of his own accord,* and *was backward to receive any: but repaid them in greater haste than borrowed money;* though *he demanded returns from none: this he rather endeavoured, that as many as possible should be indebted to him: he would engage both in jocose and serious conversation with persons of the lowest rank: in the incampments, in the marches, and upon the watches, he was every where at hand: nor did he in the mean time, as is wont to be the way of a depraved ambition, endeavour to lessen the character of the Consul, or of any worthy person whatever: only neither in counsel nor action could he suffer another to be superior to him;* and *he excelled most men. By which behaviour, in a short time he came to be in high favour with Marius and the soldiers.*

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam, aliosque locos munitos, et sibi utilìs simul,

XCVII. *But Jugurtha, after he had lost the city Capsa, and other places that were fortified, and withal of great service to*

et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios mittit, 'quàm primùm in Numidiam copias adduceret; prælii faciundi tempus adesse.' Quem ubi cunctari accepit, dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere; rursùs, utì anteà, proxumos donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiæ partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africâ expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret. Eo præmio illectus Bocchus, cum magnà multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto, Marium jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decimâ parte die reliquâ, invadunt: rati noctem, quæ jam aderat, victis sibi munimento fore; et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant: contrà, Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem. Igitur simul Consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant, et priùsquam exerci-

*him, and a vast treasure* besides, *dispatches messengers to Bocchus,* to desire '*that he would bring his forces into Numidia with all possible haste; that the season for giving battle was at hand.*' *Whom when he found demurring,* and *pondering in a wavering manner the reasons for war and peace; again, as before, he bribes those about him with presents, and promises the Moor himself a third part of Numidia, if either the Romans should be driven out of Africa, or an end put to the war, his dominions being left entire. Bocchus, tempted by this bait, comes to Jugurtha with a vast army. Wherefore both their armies being joined, they fall upon Marius now marching into winter-quarters,* towards evening, *scarce a tenth part of the day being left: supposing the night, which was now at hand, would be a shelter to them if worsted; and no impediment, if they should prevail, because they were well acquainted with the country: and on the other hand, that either case would be harder for the Romans in the dark. Wherefore at one and the same time the Consul had notice from several hands of the approach of*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

XCVII. 1. *Vix decimâ parte die reliquâ*] i. e. somewhat more than an hour before sun-set. *Die* here may either be the old genitive for *diei*, as in cap. xxii. and lii. or, as Cortius rather thinks, the ablative; and then the sentence is to be thus resolved, *die reliquâ*, i. e. *relictâ vix* per *seu* quòd ad *decimam partem*. Thus Liv. XXIX, cap. vii. *Classis Romana a Messanâ Locros* aliquot horis die superante *accessit*.

2. *Nullo impedimento*] *Nullo* is here the dative, according to the ancient form of declining, *ullus, unus, alius, solus,* and some other such nouns. See Mr. Ruddiman's Grammar, lib. I. cap. 2. r. 17.

tus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gætuli, non acie, neque ullo more prælii, sed catervatìm, utî quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt. qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientîs alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos adscendere, obviàm ire hostibus: pugna latrocinio magis, quàm prælio similis fieri: sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti cædere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, contra adversos acerrumè pugnantîs, ab tergo circumvenire: neque virtus, neque arma satis tegere; quòd hostes numero plures et undique

*the enemy, and the enemy themselves were upon him, and before the army could either be drawn up, or get together their baggage, in short, before they could receive any signal or orders, the Moorish and Gætulian horse, not in a regular body, nor in any form of battle, but in scattered companies, as chance had clustered them together, came* pell-mell on all sides *upon our men. who* were *all surprised with the unexpected alarm, and yet mindful of their* wonted *bravery either took to* their *arms, or protected others from the enemy, whilst they were taking* to theirs: *part of them mounted their horses,* and *advanced against the enemy: the fight was more like a rencounter with robbers, than a battle: the* enemy's *horse and foot being mixed together, without standards,* and *without keeping to any order, cleanly slaughtered some, mangled others,* and *wheeled about upon the rear of many,*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Sarcinas colligere*] It was usual, before engaging in battle, to bring all the baggage together into one place, and set a guard over it.

4. *Signum aut imperium ullum*] *Signum* in this place either denotes the signal commonly given by sound of trumpet to begin the battle, or the word called *symbolum* or *tessera*, given by the general to the soldiers as a badge or mark whereby to distinguish their own men from those of the enemy; or rather it may be taken to signify both. By *imperium* we are to understand the orders usually given by the general, how to behave in the action.

5. *Equites pedites permixti*] Glareanus, says Cortius, is of opinion, that these words are to be understood of the enemy, and that the words *alios, alios multos,* denote the Romans: and Cortius himself says nothing in opposition to this: but only adds, that, in this case, the *semi-colon* or *comma* placed after the word *permixti*, in some of the MS. and printed editions, must be dashed out; which accordingly I have done; for I do not see what good sense can be made of the place, if these words be taken otherwise.

circumfusi. denique, Romani veteres, novique, et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus, aut casus conjunxerat, orbes facere: atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

*as they were fighting very briskly against those that faced them: neither courage nor arms could effectually secure* our men; *because the enemy were more numerous; and spread round on all sides. finally, the Roman veterans, and new soldiers too,* who had been blended with them, *and* were *by this means well acquainted with war, as the ground or chance united any of them, formed* themselves into *round bodies: and so being both secured on all sides, and posted in proper order, they withstood the fury of the enemy.*

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio territus Marius, aut magis quàm anteà, demisso animo fuit; sed cum turmâ suâ, quam ex fortissumis magis, quàm familiarissumis, paraverat, vagari passim; ac modò laborantibus suis succurrere, modò hostîs, ubi confertissumi obstiterant, invadere: manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare, conturbatis omnibus, non poterat. Jamque dies consumtus erat, cùm ta-

XCVIII. *In this so desperate a case Marius was not daunted, nor was his courage sunk, more than on former occasions; but with his own troop, which he had made up of the bravest fellows* in the army, *rather than of his nearest friends, flew about every where; and one while relieved his own men in distress, another while fell in amongst the enemy, where they stood thickest:* and *by fighting did what service he could to his soldiers, since, in this universal confusion, he could not act the general. And now the day was spent, when yet the*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Veteres, novique, et ob ea scientes belli*] Though Cortius seems to suspect, that the words *novique, et ob ea* are spurious, yet he will not take upon him to throw them out; nay, thinks they may bear the sense I have given them in the translation; which, it must be owned, is a little strained, and not at all natural or easy. His comment on the place is, *Denique* si *Romanos veteres novosque, qui* ob id, *quòd conjungerentur veteribus facilè morem militiæ discebant, casus conjunxerat, illi orbes facere.* En tibi Dictyn, qui locum imitatur, VI. cap. i. *Paucis diebus pervenere ad Ægæum mare: ibi multa imbribus* ventisque, et ob id sæviente mari, *indigna experti, passim, ut sors tulerat, dispalantur.*

XCVIII. 1. *Manu consulere militibus*] Ineptissimè hæc tractant interpretes, cùm tam manifestum sit Marium virtute, auxilio suo suæque turmæ consuluisse militibus. Suprà, cap. xxxix. *Quod armatus dedecore, potiùs quàm* manu *salùtem quæsiverit.*

men barbari nihil remittere; atque, uti Reges præceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copiâ rerum consilium trahit, atque, utì suis receptui locus esset, collîs duos propinquòs inter se occupat. quorum in uno, castris parùm amplo, fons aquæ magnus erat: alter usui opportuuus, quia magnâ parte editus et præceps, pauca munimento quærebat. Cæterùm apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet. Ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minùs hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit: dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges, loci difficultate coacti, prælio deterrentur. neque tamen suos longiùs abire sinunt, sed, utroque colle multitudine circumdato, effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis, plerumque noctis barbari suo more lætari, exsultare, strepere vocibus: ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerent, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis fa-

*barbarians abated nothing* of their fury; *nay, charged more desperately, imagining the night was their advantage, as the Kings had instructed them before-hand. Upon this Marius takes the measures that were proper in his circumstances, and, that there might be a place of retreat for his men, seizes upon two hills that were near to one another. in one of which, not large enough for a camp, there was a plentiful spring of water: the other was convenient for the purpose, because a great part of it being high and steep, it would require little fortifying. Now he orders Sulla with the horse to pass the night by the water. He himself draws together by degrees the soldiers that were much scattered, the enemy being no less disordered: and then carries them all off, upon a full march, to the hill. Thus the Kings are diverted from the fight, being restrained by the disadvantage of the ground, yet suffered not their men to withdraw to any distance, but incamped in a scattered manner, surrounding both hills with their numbers. And then having made a great many fires, the barbarians made merry most of the night after their own fashion, leaped for joy,* and *yelled with their voices: their leaders themselves proud, because they had not run away, behaved as conquerors.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Noctem pro se rati*] *Pro se* est commodam sibi, opportunam.

cilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.

*But all these things were easily perceived by the Romans in the dark, and upon the higher ground, and gave them great encouragement.*

XCIX. Plurimùm verò Marius imperitiâ hostium confirmatus, quàm maxumum silentium haberi jubet; nè signa quidem, utì per vigilias solebant, canere: deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paullò antè somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnes signa canere; milites clamorem tollere, atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gætuli ignoto et horribili sonitu repentè exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omninò facere aut providere quidquam poterant. ita cunctos strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore, formido, quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique. arma et signa militaria pleraque capta; pluresque eo prælio, quàm omnibus superioribus interemti. Nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

XCIX. *And Marius being much animated by the unskilful conduct of the enemy, orders a profound silence to be kept; and not so much as sound the trumpets, as they used to do at the end of every watch: and then, when day approached, the enemy being now weary, and a little before this seized with sleep, on a sudden the watches, as also the trumpeters of the cohorts, troops,* and *legions, all at once sounded the trumpets; the soldiers set up a shout, and poured down from the camp. The Moors and Gætulians being suddenly awakened with the unexpected and dismal noise, could neither fly, nor take arms, nor act at all, or think of any thing for their own relief: terror, like a phrensy, had so stupified all of them with the din, clamour, confusion,* and *fright, none coming to their relief,* and *our men charging hard. In short, they were all routed and dispersed. most of their arms and military standards* were *taken; and more men killed in that battle than all the former. For their flight was prevented by sleep and the extraordinary surprise.*

C. Dein Marius, utì cœperat in hiberna; quæ, propter commeatum, in oppidis maritumis agere decreverat. neque tamen

C. *After this Marius* marches on, *as he had begun, to winter-quarters; which he had resolved to take up in the towns upon the sea-coast, for the sake of provisions.*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

C. 1. *In hiberna*] Intellige *proficiscitur.* Verbs of motion, such as *proficiscor*, are frequently suppressed.

socors victoriâ, aut insolens factus; sed pariter ac in conspectu hostium, quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistrâ A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, prætereà cohortes Ligurum curabat: primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugæ, minumè cari et regionum scientissumi, hostium iter explorabant: simul Consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere: apud omnes adesse; laudare, increpare merentîs. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat: neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitum in portas cohortîs ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere. præstereá, alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non diffidentiâ

*however, he was not rendered careless or proud by his success; but marched with his army in a square figure, just as if he had been in view of an enemy. Sulla took his station with the horse upon the right, A. Manlius with the slingers and archers, as also the cohorts of the Ligurians, on the left; in the van and rear he had posted the tribunes, with the companies of foot clear of baggage. Deserters* being men *whose lives they were least tender of, and best acquainted with the country, watched the motions of the enemy: the Consul, at the same time, as if no officer had been appointed, took the oversight of every thing; was present every where:* and *commended*, or *reprimanded every one as they deserved. He was armed and upon his guard himself, and obliged the soldiers* to be so too: *nor was he less cautious in fortifying his camp,* and *causing the legionary cohorts to keep watch at the gates, and the auxiliary horse without the camp, than in performing his march. moreover, he posted others upon*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Præstereà cohortes Ligurum*] Quasi dixisset, *Præstereà* erant in iis, cum quibus *curabat*, cohortes Ligurum.

3. *Perfugæ, minume cari*] Perfugis periculosissimum negotium demandabat Marius explorare iter hostium: quia minimè tam cari erant, ut cives aut socii Romani, viliore damno, si perissent.

4. *Non diffidentiâ futuri, quæ imperavisset, quàm*] Perizonius ad Sanct. II. Minerv. cap. ix. completes this sentence thus: *non* tam *diffidentiâ futuri* negotii eorum, *quæ imperavisset;* and Cortius thus: *non* tam *diffidentiâ futuri* ejus omnis, *quæ imperavisset.* And in this case *quæ* is put plural, because of the partitive signification of its antecedent *ejus omnis. N. B. Tam* after *non* is frequently suppressed, notwithstanding *quàm* follows. Liv. XXVI. cap. xxxi. *Sed non quid ego fecerim, in disquisitionem venit,* quàm *quid isti pati debuerint.*

futuri, quæ imperavisset, quàm utì militibus exæquatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sanè Marius, illo et aliis temporibus belli, pudore magis, quàm malo, exercitum coërcebat: quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant; pars quòd a pueritiâ consuetam duritiam, et alia, quæ cæteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset. Nisi tamen respublica paritèr, ac sævissumo imperio, benè atque decorè gesta.

*the rampart of the works, he went the rounds to visit the watch himself, not* so much *from any distrust of the things being done that he had ordered, as that the fatigue might be undergone by the soldiers with cheerfulness, as being what their general took an equal share of himself. And indeed Marius,* both *upon this and other occasions during the war, kept the army to their duty more by shame than punishment: which, many said, was done purely to court the soldiery; some* said it was *because he took a pleasure in hardship, to which from his childhood he had been inured, and other such things, as the rest of the world count very dismal. But yet public affairs were as well, and as gloriously managed, as* they could have been *under the most rigid command.*

CI. Igitur quarto denique die, haùd longè ab oppido Cirtâ, undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt: quâ re hostis adesse intelligitur. Sed quia divorsi redeuntes, alius ab aliâ parte, atque omnes idem significabant; Consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, advorsum omnia paratus, ibidem opperitur. Ità Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partîs distribuerat; ratus ex omnibus æquè aliquos ab

CI. *At last then, upon the fourth day* after the battle, *not far from the town of Cirta, the scouts all at once, and upon all sides, advancing in great haste, present themselves to view: by which sign the enemy was known to be at hand. But because the several scouts returned, each from a different quarter, and gave all the same sign; the Consul, being at a loss in what form to draw up the army, altering none of his ranks, waits in the same place* where he was, *being provided against all attacks. Thus Jugurtha's expectation disappointed him, who had divided his force into four bodies;*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

5. *Militibus——labos volentibus esset*] See cap. lxxi. n. 1.

CI. 1. *Citi sese ostendunt*] *Citi* est pro *citato cursu* advenientes.

2. *Advorsum omnia paratus*] Incedebat enim, quod suprà descripserat, agmine quodrato.

3. *Æque aliquos ab tergo*] *Æquè* jugendum est cum dictione *ab tergo*,

tergo hostibus venturos. Interìm Sulla, quem primùm adtigerant, cohortatos suos, turmatìm, et quàm maxumè confertis equis ipse aliique Mauros invadunt: cæteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminùs emissis corpora tegere, et, si qui in manus venerant, obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites præliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux, filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugnâ, in itinere morati, adfuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tûm Marius apud primos agebat, quòd ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis. Deìn Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clàm cum paucis ad pedites convortit: ibi Latinè [nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat] exclamat, 'nostros frustra pugnare; paullò antè Marium suâ manu interfectum;' simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugnâ, satis impigrè occiso pedi-

*supposing some of all would come directly upon the enemy's rear. In the mean time Sulla, whom they came first up with, after encouraging his men, he and other* officers *with their horses, troop by troop, and in as close order as possible, fall upon the Moors: the rest keeping their ground, defending their own persons from the weapons thrown at a distance, and, if any came into their hands, they cut them down. Whilst the horse are thus engaged, Bocchus with the foot, which his son Volux had brought up, and who, loitering upon their march, had not been at the former battle, falls upon the hinder part of the Roman army. Marius was then* busily *employed in the van, because Jugurtha* was *there with a numerous force. The Numidian after this, having got intelligence of Bocchus's coming, wheels off privately with a few attendants to the foot: there he cries out in Latin, (for he had learned to speak it at Numantia,) 'That our men fought to no purpose; that Marius had been slain a little before by his own hand;' and at the same time shows his sword all besprinkled*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

Nôrat enim Jugurtha, ab tergo Romanos faciliùs invadi posse: et cùm in quatuor partes suos divisisset, sperabat, ut una saltem pars suorum *æquè ab tergo* Romanos invadere posset.

4. *Ipse aliique*] Cortius looks on these words as spurious, and thinks the word *Sulla*, taken in conjunction with the sentence, sufficiently supplies the place of a plural nominative to the verb *invadunt*; as being equivalent to *Sulla cum suis invadunt*.

5. *Ad pedites convortit*] *i. e. to the foot* which Volux had brought up, and who, with Bocchus as their leader, were attacking the Romans in their rear.

te nostro cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei, quàm fide nuncii terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in perculsos acriùs incedere. Jamque paullùm ab fugâ aberant, cùm Sulla, profligatis, quos advorsum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statìm avortitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos, et propè jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextrâ sinistrâ omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interìm Marius, fugatis equitibus, occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique, hostes undique fusi. Tùm spectaculum horribile campis patentibus: sequi, fugere; occidi, capi; equi, viri adflicti: ac multi, volneribus acceptis, neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modò, ac statìm concidere: postremò, omnia, quà visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus; et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

*with blood, which he had thus besmeared in an encounter with a foot-soldier of our's slain by him with abundance of gallantry. Which when the soldiers heard, they were shocked more with the horridness of the thing, than any credit they gave to the relater: and at the same time the barbarians roused their courage, and advanced more furiously against them under this surprise. And now they were little from running, when Sulla, having routed those against whom he was engaged, falls upon the Moors in their flank. Bocchus is immediately put to flight. But Jugurtha, whilst he endeavours to support his friends, and maintain the victory already well nigh gained, being surrounded by* our *horse, when all on his right and left were slain, keeping up a vigorous defence, breaks through single amidst the weapons of his enemies. And in the mean time Marius, having routed the horse, comes to the relief of his men, who by this time, he was informed, were giving ground. Finally, the enemy were quite broke in all quarters. Upon this there was a dreadful sight* to be seen all *over the open fields: some pursuing, others flying; some were killed, some taken; horses* and *men tumbled together* upon the ground: *and many having received wounds, could neither fly, nor lie still; sometimes they would endeavour to rise, and would immediately fall down again: finally, all parts, as far as sight could reach, were covered with weapons, arms,* and *dead bodies; and the ground betwixt them stained with blood.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Vitabundus erumpit*] *Vitabundus* non modò similis vitanti est, sed etiam abundè, valdè vitans, ut necesse erat, cùm ab omnibus partibus peteretur.

CII. Postea loci Consul haud dubiè jam victor, pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quò initio profectus intenderat. Eò, post diem quintum, quàm iterum barbari malè pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui Regis verbis ab Mario petivere, 'duo quàm fidissumos ad eum mitteret; velle de se et de populi Romanì commodo, cum îs disserere.' Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui, quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud Regem facere; ingenium aut avorsum utì flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementiùs accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiæ, non ætati a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus.

CII. *After this the Consul, now unquestionably conqueror, arrived at the town of Cirta, whither at his first setting out he had designed. Thither, upon the fifth day after the barbarians had fought the second time unsuccessfully, came deputies from Bocchus, who, in the King's name, requested of Marius, 'to send him two persons in whom he might confide; that he designed to treat with them* on subjects *concerning himself, and the interest of the Roman people.' He instantly orders L. Sulla and A. Manlius to go. Who, though they went upon invitation, yet thought fit to make a speech to the King; in order either to work upon his inclination, if he was backward, or, if he was desirous of a peace, to excite him to greater earnestness. Wherefore Sulla, to whose eloquence, not to his age, the precedence was given by Manlius, spoke briefly to the following effect.*

'Rex Bocche, magna nobis lætitia, cùm te talem virum dî monuere, utì aliquando pacem quàm bellum malles; neu te optumum cum pessumo omnium, Jugurtha, miscendo commaculares; simul nobis demeres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te

*'King Bocchus, it is great joy to us, that the gods have put it into the heart of such a man as you, to choose at last peace rather than war; and not stain your own worthy character by closely uniting with the worst of all men, Jugurtha; and at the same time deliver us from the cruel necessity of pursuing you,*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CII. 1. *Necessitudinem—persequi*] i. e. *persequendi.* It is nothing uncommon to see the infinitive joined to substantive nouns instead of the gerund in *di:* Cat. cap. xvii. *Quibus in otio—vel molliter* vivere copia erat. Jug. cap. iii. Lubido *tenet—libertatem suam* gratificari. Cap. lxxxix. *N et aspera* adgredi tempus *visum*. Liv. XXI. cap. liv. *Nunc corpora*

errantem et illum sceleratissumum persequi. Ad hoc populo Romano jam inopi visum, amicos, quàm servos quærere; tutiùs rati, volentibus, quàm coactis imperitare. Tibi verò nulla opportunior nostrâ amicitiâ: primùm, quòd procul absumus, in quo offensæ minumum, gratia par, ac si propè adessemus; dein quòd parentes abundè habemus, amicorum neque nobis, neque cuiquam omnium satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profectò ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multò plura bona accepisses, quàm mala perpessus esses. Sed quoniam humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit; cui scilicet placuisse et vim, et gratiam nostram experiri: nunc, quando per illam licet, festina, atque, ut cœpisti, perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quò faciliùs errata officiis superes. Postremò, hoc in pectus tuum demitte, numquam populum Romanum

*whose only fault is being misled, and that most vile wretch, with the like vengeance. Moreover, it was judged better by the Roman people, even when they were in a low condition, to procure friends than slaves: thinking it safer to rule over such as were willing, than those that were forced. And for you no alliance is more advantageous than ours: in the first place, because we are a great way off, in which case there is the least occasion of difference, our favour the same as if we were nigh at hand; and in the next place, because we have subjects in abundance,* but *neither we, nor any one else, enough of friends. And I wish you had taken this resolution at first! without question, you would have received by this time more good from the Roman people, than you would have suffered evil. But since fortune over-rules most of human affairs: who had a mind, it seems, you should make a trial as well of our force as of our favour: now, when she gives you liberty, be quick, and go on as you have begun. You have many ways and opportunities, whereby you may easily overbalance your miscar-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

tempus *est.* Cor. Nep. Lysand. cap. iii. *Iniit* consilia *Reges* tollere. Virg. Eclog. VIII. v. 89. *Talis amor teneat, nec sit mihi* cura mederi. Æneid. II. v. 10. *Sed si tantus* amor *casus* cognoscere *nostros, Et breviter Trojæ supremum* audire *laborem.*

2. *Ad hoc tempus*] These words are not in Cortius's text, nor taken notice of among his *errata;* but since he comments upon them in his notes, as being in the text, it is plain they have been left out, not of design, but through inadvertency; and therefore I have restored them.

beneficiis victum, nam bello quid valeat, tute scis.'

riages by good services. Finally, let this sink deep into your breast, that the Roman people have never been outdone in acts of kindness, for what their ability is in war, you know well enough yourself.'

Ad ea Bocchus placidè et benignè; simul pauca pro delicto verba facit: 'se non hostili animo, sed regnum tutatum arma cepisse: nam Numidiæ partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerat, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse: præterea missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitiâ. Cæterùm vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum.' Deìn copiâ factâ, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognitâ legatione Sullæ et Manlii, metuens id, quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

To this Bocchus replied in a soft and civil manner; and at the same time made a brief apology for his misconduct: 'that he had not taken up arms out of any hostile intention, but to protect his kingdom: for he could not suffer that part of Numidia to be laid waste by Marius, out of which he had by force driven Jugurtha, since it was become his own by the right of war: besides, upon his sending deputies formerly to Rome, an alliance had been refused him. However, he would forbear to insist on things past, and would now again send deputies to the senate, if he were allowed by Marius.' But afterwards, though this liberty was granted, the mind of the barbarian was altered by means of his friends, whom Jugurtha, upon getting notice of the embassy of Sulla and Man-

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Jure belli suam factam*] Jugurtha, to engage Bocchus effectually to his interest, and to take part with him in this war, had promised him a third part of Numidia, as we are told, cap. xcvii.; and it would appear from what Bocchus here says, that this third part had been expressly condescended on, and particularly that it comprehended Capsa, and the other places out of which Marius had forced Jugurtha. Bocchus indeed is a little too forward in calling it *jure belli suam factam*, since it was promised under a condition not yet fulfilled, *Si Romani Africâ expulsi, aut, integris suis finibus, bellum compositum foret.* But we are to remember, that Bocchus is talking to persons whom he supposes to be, and who probably at this time really were ignorant of the articles stipulated betwixt him and Jugurtha; and therefore we are the less to wonder that he makes insinuations of what was not precisely true, especially considering that this would have the appearance of a pretty plausible apology for his past conduct.

4. *Deìn, copiâ factâ*] Intellige *mittendi legatos.*

*lius*, and *being apprehensive of that which was in agitation, had corrupted with bribes.*

CIII. Marius, intereà, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatûs proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quò Jugurtha perfugas omnìs præsidium imposuerat. Tum rursùs Bocchus, seu reputando, quæ sibi duobus præliis venerant, seu admonitus ab amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copiâ necessariorum quinque delegit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissuma erant. Eos ad Marium, ac deìn, si placeat, Romam legatos ire jubet: agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam permittit. Illi maturè ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deindè itinere a Gætulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt; quem Consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro prætore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed adcuratè ac liberalitèr habuit. quâ re

CIII. *Marius, in the mean time, having put his army into winter-quarters, marches away with the light-armed cohorts and part of the horse into the desert, to besiege a tower of the King's wherein Jugurtha had put a garrison, all deserters. Then again Bocchus, whether reflecting on what had happened to him in the two battles, or having been advised by such friends as Jugurtha had left uncorrupted, chose out of the whole number of his friends five, of whose fidelity he had good proof, and who were most eminent for parts. He orders them to go as deputies to Marius, and afterwards, if he should think proper, to Rome:* and *furnishes them with full powers to negotiate affairs, and put an end to the war upon any terms. They set out with all dispatch for the winter quarters of the Romans: and being afterwards on their journey beset by some Gætulian robbers, and stript of all they had, they fled in great fright,* and *without suitable equipage, to Sulla; whom the Consul, when he went upon his expedition, had left Proprætor. He did not treat them like fickle enemies, as they had deserved, but in a handsome manner, and with great generosity. by which usage the barba-*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CIII. 1. *Perfugas omnìs præsidium*] *h.e.* omne præsidium erant perfugæ.
2. *Adcuratè——habuit*] *Adcuratè habere* est, cum curâ tractare, omnis circumspicere studiosè, quæ ad cultum pertinent.

barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiæ falsam, et Sullam, ob munificentiam in sese, amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignara: munificus nemo putabatur, nisi paritèr volens: dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur Quæstori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt, simul ab eo petunt, utì fautor consultorque sibi adsit: copias, fidem, magnitudinem Regis sui, et alia, quæ aut utilia, aut benevolentiæ credebant, oratione extollunt: dein Sullâ omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum verba facerent, circitur dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

*rians were persuaded both that the report of the Roman avarice was groundless, and that Sulla, upon account of his generosity towards them, was their friend. For the practice of giving in order to corruption, even at that time, was unknown to many: nobody was thought generous, but out of good-will: all presents were ascribed to real kindness. Wherefore they unfold the instructions of Bocchus to the Quæstor; and at the same time request of him to be their friend and adviser: in discourse they greatly cried up the forces, honour,* and *grandeur of their prince, and other things which they thought were either of interest* to the Romans, *or a mean to attract their liking: then after Sulla had promised all,* and *they were instructed in what manner to make their address to Marius and to the senate, they waited there about forty days.*

CIV. Marius postquam, infecto quo intenderat negotio, Cirtam redit: de adventu legatorum cer-

CIV. *After Marius returned to Cirta, not having accomplished the business upon* the finishing of *which he had resolved* to return;

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Largitio multis ignara*] *Largitio* invidiosè usurpata est, pro *largitione tali,* quæ sit sine benevolentiâ, ambitionis tantum et sui commodi causâ: quæ eo tempore Romæ potissumùm invaluerat. Cat. cap. iii. *Audacia,* largitio *avaritia, vigebant.*

4. *Aut utilia, aut benevolentiæ*] *Utilia* intelligit Romanis. Solemnes dictiones de sociis sunt *boni utiles.* Benevolentiæ positum est pro *benevolentiæ Regi suo conciliandæ;* and is the genitive, the construction here being the same as that of *gloriosa modò, neque belli patrandi.* See cap. lxxxviii. n. 3.

CIV. *Infecto quo intenderat negotio*] Plerique interpretes, *quo intenderat* accipiunt pro *quò profectus erat,* et ita fere de itinere Cirtam facto intelligunt. At Cl. Perizonius ad Sanct. II. Minerv. cap. ix. interpretatur, *infecto negotio eò loci,* quò intenderat. Non tamen persuadet: etsi ita de itineribus loquantur. Exponendum autem, *infecto negotio, quo* confecto redire *intenderat.*

tior factus, illosque et Sullam venire jubet item L. Bellienum prætorem Uticâ, præterea omnîs undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab Consule: intereà induciæ postulabantur. Ea Sullæ et plerisque placuere: pauci ferociùs decernunt, scilicit ignari humanarum rerum, quæ fluxæ et mobiles semper in advorsa mutant. Cæterùm Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui Quæstor stipendium in Africam portaverat: duo ad Regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus cùm cætera, tùm maxumè benignitatem et studium Sullæ lubens accepit. Romæ legatis ejus, postquam errâsse Regem et Jugurthæ scelere lapsum, deprecati sunt, amicitiam et fædus petentibus hoc modo respondetur.

*being informed of the arrival of the deputies, he orders both them and Sulla to come to* him, *and likewise L. Bellienus the Prætor from Utica, as also all* others *of the senatorian rank from all places, in conjunction with whom he takes under consideration the proposals of Bocchus. Liberty for his deputies to proceed to Rome is granted by the Consul: in the mean time a cessation of arms was desired. These things were approved of by Sulla and the majority: a few were for rougher usage, unacquainted, it seems, with human affairs, which being fleeting and fickle, are always changing to the worse. But the Moors, having obtained all their demands, three of them went for Rome, with Cn. Octavius Rufus, who, as Quæstor, had brought over to Africa pay for the army: two return to the King. From them Bocchus, as he with great pleasure received the accounts of other things, so particularly of the kindness and courtesy of Sulla. To his deputies at Rome, applying for an alliance and league, after they had begged pardon,* confessing *that their prince had been guilty of an error, and had been led away through the wicked artifices of Jugurtha, answer is made in the following manner.*

'Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriæ memor esse solet. Cæ-

'*The senate and people of Rome are ever mindful of kindness and injury* done them. *How-*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

2. *Ea Sullæ et plerisque*] *Ea*, as it is plural and neuter, refers both to *potestas eundi Romam*, and to *induciæ*.

3. *Deprecati sunt*] Cortius completes the sentence thus, *deprecati sunt* dicentes, *Regem errâsse*.

terùm Bocchus, quoniam pœnitet, delicti gratiam facit. fœdus et amicitia dabuntur, cùm meruerit.'

*ever they pardon Bocchus's offence, in consideration of his repentance. a league and alliance shall be granted, when he shall have deserved it.'*

CV. Quîs rebus cognitis, Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, utì Sullam ad se mitteret; cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consulerētur. Is missus cum præsidio equitum atque peditum, funditorum Balearium: prætereà sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi caussâ: neque his secùs, atque aliis armis, advorsum tela hostium, quòd

CV. *Upon information of which, Bocchus requested of Marius by a letter to send Sulla to him; with whose help he might advise about their common concerns. He was dispatched with a guard of horse and foot,* the latter *being Balearian slingers:* there were *also* in his retinue some *archers, and a cohort of Pelignians with arms used by the Velites, for the better expedition in their march: nor were they less secured by these, than any other* kind *of arms, against the*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CV. 1. *Cujus arbitratu*] *Arbitratus* vox Ciceroni frequens, pro *judicio, beneplacito.* Noster leviore significatu accepit, et *cujus arbitratu* dixit, pro *quo præsente et voluntatem populi Romani observante.*

2. *Funditorum Balearium*] *Insulæ Baleares* were the islands in the Mediterranean, now called *Majorca* and *Minorca.* Flor. III. cap. viii. tells us, the inhabitants were famous slingers, as being trained up to this art from their infancy. The boys had no victuals allowed them but what they brought down from the top of some high post with their slings. Cortius is pretty positive that *peditum* in this place is superfluous and spurious. *Vox* peditum *a malâ manu irrepsit, et scripserat Crispus:* cum præsidio equitum atque funditorum, *&c.*

3. *Præterea sagittarii et cohors Peligna*] This sentence may be thus supplied, *Præterea* erant cum Sullâ *sagittarii, &c.* The *peligni* were a people in Italy, their metropolis was Corfinium; another of their chief towns was Sulmo, famous for being the birth-place of Ovid.

4. *Cum velitaribus armis*] The *Velites,* so called *a volando,* were *tirones,* or young soldiers, who were not formed into distinct bodies or companies, as the other orders. In battle they used to hover in loose order before the *hastati,* and begin the fight. Their arms were of the lighter sort, *viz.* the *parma tripedalis, i. e.* a buckler of three feet diameter, made of wood, and covered over with leather; a Spanish sword, seven *hastæ,* or javelins for darting at the enemy, with a *galea* or light casque for their head, made generally of the skin of some wild beast. See cap. xlvi. n. 5.

5. *Cohors——muniti*] The same construction as *pars acti,* cap. xiv. and *magna pars volnerati,* cap. lviii. See cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed itinere, quinto denique die, Volux, filius Bocchi, repentè in campis patentibus cum mille non ampliùs equitibus sese ostendit: qui temerè et effusè euntes, Sullæ aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorem vero, et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et advorsum eos, quos sæpè vicerant. Interìm equites, exploratum præmissi, rem, utì erat, quietam nunciant.

*weapons of the enemy, because these,* viz. the weapons of the enemy, *were light. But at last, upon the fifth day of their march, Volux the son of Bocchus, all on a sudden presents himself to view in a wide plain with no more than a thousand horse:* but *who marching in a loose and scattered manner, caused both their number* to appear *greater than the truth to Sulla and every body else, and* occasioned *an apprehension of their being enemies. Whereupon every man puts himself in readiness, tries* and *trims his arms and weapons: some little fears* they had, *but greater hopes, as having* been *victorious,* formerly, *and* now to fight *against those whom they had often conquered. in the mean time* some *horse, sent out to reconnoitre them, bring word that matters were peaceable, as they really were.*

CVI. Volux adveniens Quæstorem adpellat: 'se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et præsidio missum.' Deindè eum et proxumum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post, ubi castra locata, et die vesper erat, repentè Maurus incerto voltu ad Sullam adcurrit: 'sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haùd procul abesse: simul, utì noctu clàm secum profugeret,

CVI. *Volux coming up addresses himself to the Quæstor:* and tells him, '*that he had been sent by his father Bocchus, at once to meet them, and to be their guard.' And then they march in company, that and the next day, without any alarm. After this, when the camp was pitched, and the evening of the day was come, all on a sudden the Moor comes running to Sulla with confusion in his looks:* and tells him, '*he had information from* his *scouts, that Jugurtha*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

6. *Sese quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere*] *Expedire* est liberare impedimentis. *Tentare* et aptare est, et quocumque modo experiri usum armorum telorumque, quæ hic de omni instrumento militari capienda sunt, ut etiam *arcus* sagittariorum comprehendant, quorum caussâ addidit *intendere.*

rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat 'se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere: virtuti suorum satis credere: etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potiùs, quàm proditis quos ducebat, turpi fugâ incertæ, ac forsitan pòst paullò morbo interituræ, vitæ parceret.' Ceterùm ab eodem monitus, 'utì noctu proficiscerentur,' consilium adprobat: ac statim milites cœnatos esse; in castris ignîs quàm creberrumos fieri, dein primâ vigiliâ silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus, Sulla paritèr cum ortu solis castra metabatur, cùm equites Mauri nunciant, 'Jugurtham circiter duum millium intervallo antè consedisse.' Quod postquam auditum, tum verò ingens metus nostros invadit: credere proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent, manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

*was not far off:' and at the same time begs and intreats him, to fly away privately with him in the night. He with obstinate resolution replied, 'that he feared not the Numidian,* who had been *so often beat: that he could abundantly trust the courage of his men: and even though sure destruction were at hand, he would rather stand his ground, than, betraying* those *whom he conducted, save, by a scandalous flight, a life that was uncertain, and perhaps to perish a little after by a distemper.' However, being advised by the same* Volux, *'to march in the night,' he approves the motion: and immediately orders the soldiers to go to supper; a great many fires to be made in the camp, and then to march off silently at the first watch. And now all being* heartily *tired with marching in the night, Sulla was pitching his camp just at sun-rise, when the Moorish horse bring word, 'that Jugurtha had sat down at the distance of about two miles before them.' After this was understood, then indeed a mighty consternation seized our men: they thought themselves betrayed, and drawn into a snare by Volux. And* some *there were, who cried out, that immediate vengeance should be taken, and such a piece of villainy in him ought not to pass unpunished.*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CVI. 1. *Primâ vigiliâ*] *i. e.* at the end of the first watch, or three hours after sun-set; for the Romans divided the night into four watches, each consisting of three hours. See cap. xlv. n. 2. But the ancient Greeks divided the night into three watches, each of which consisted of four hours.

2. *Manu vindicandum*] *Manu* vindicant, qui vi et pœnâ mortis ipsi, non expectato judicio, vindicant.

CVII. At Sulla, quàmquam eadem æstumabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, 'utì fortem animum gererent: sæpè anteà paucis strenuis advorsum multitudinem benè pugnatum: quantò sibi in prælio minus pepercissent, tantò tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maxumo metu nudum et cæcum corpus ad hostîs vortere.' Deindè Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, maxumum Jovem obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiæ Bocchi testis adesset, castris abire jubet. Ille lacrumans orare, 'nè ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, magìs calliditate Jugurthæ, cui speculanti iter suum cognitum esset. Cæterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent; illum nihil palàm ausurum, cùm ipse filius testis adesset: quarè optumum factum videri, per media ejus castra palàm

CVII. *But Sulla, tho' he was of the same opinion, yet protects the Moor from ill usage: encourages his men, 'to have a good heart: that often before now a battle had been fought with success by a few brave fellows against multitudes: the less they spared themselves in battle, the more secure they would be: nor ought any one, who had armed his hands, to seek assistance from his unarmed feet,* or *in the midst of danger to turn his back, that was naked and had no eyes, upon his enemy.' Then invoking the mighty Jove to be a witness of the villainy and treachery of Bocchus, he orders Volux, since he acted the part of an enemy, to be gone out of the camp. He with tears begs of him, 'not to believe this:* protesting *that nothing* of this *had been brought about by any treachery* in him, *but rather through the subtilty of Jugurtha, who by his scouts had discovered their march. However, as he had no great numbers, and as his hopes and strength depended on his father: he would not dare to make any open attempt, when he the son was to be a witness of it: wherefore he thought the best thing could be done was, to take their route fairly through the*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CVII. 1. *Cæcum corpus*] i. e. *cæcam partem corporis, tergum.* Ita cap. lxxxv. *Advorso corpore.* Ita cap. lxxviii. *Extremâ Africâ.* See cap. xxxv. n. 8.

2. *Per media ejus castra*] Mirum factum: hostem per media sua castra incolumem transire sinere: mallem illud *media* abesse, et tolerabilior emergeret sententia, eos *præter* castra Jugurthæ transiisse; ut supra cap. xxxi. *Per ora incedere.*

transire: sese, vel præmissis, vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sullâ iturum.' Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata, ac statim profecti: quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque hæsitante Jugurthâ, incolumes transeunt. Deindè, paucis diebus, quò ire intenderant, perventum.

*middle of his camp: that he, either sending the Moors before, or leaving them there, would go single along with Sulla.' This proposal, as the case stood, was approved of, and forthwith they set forward:* and *as they came up unexpectedly, whilst Jugurtha was unresolved and in doubts* what to do, *they passed without molestation. And then in a few days, they arrived at the place they designed for.*

CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine multum et familiaritèr agebat: præmissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia: præthereà Dabar, Massugradæ filius, ex gente Masinissæ, cæterùm materno genere impar; pater ejus ex concubinâ ortus erat; Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque: quem Bocchus fidum Romanis multis anteà tempestatibus expertus, illicò ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, 'paratum sese facere, quæ populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus

CVIII. *A certain Numidian, named Aspar, was carrying on negotiations there, in a busy and familiar manner, with Bocchus: having been dispatched thither by Jugurtha, after he heard that Sulla had been sent for, as his envoy, and slily to pry into Bocchus's intentions: moreover* one *Dabar, the son of Massugrada, of the family of Masinissa, but of meaner descent by the female side;* for *his father had been born of a concubine;* was *much beloved, and in great favour with the Moor, on account of his many excellent endowments of mind: whom Bocchus, having found* him *a true friend to the Romans on several occasions before, straightway dispatches to Sulla, to acquaint him 'that he was ready to do what the Roman*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CVIII. 1. *Orator*] Messengers, deputies, or ambassadors, sent with instructions, were anciently called *oratores:* Liv. XXX. cap. xvi. Oratores *ad pacem petendam mittunt.* See cap. xlvi. n. 2.

2. *Materno genere impar*] I choose to render this *by the female side*, because the person here meant was not Dabar's mother, but his grandmother, *viz.* the mother of his father Massugrada, who was Masinissa's concubine. See the family of Masinissa delineated, cap. v. n. 5.

3. *Diem, locum, tempus ipse dilegeret*] Veluti ex formulâ *dies, tempus* si-

ipse dilegeret: consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere; neu Jugurthæ legatum pertimesceret; quò res communis licentiùs gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus alitèr caveri nequivisse.' Sed ego comperior, Bocchum magìs Punicâ fide, quàm ob quæ prædicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis adtinuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam traderet; lubidinem advorsum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

*people should order: he might fix upon day, place, and hour, for the interview: that he had reserved every thing, that was to come under consideration with him, entire; that he needed not much fear the envoy of Jugurtha; that thus their common affair would be transacted with greater freedom; for he could not have been secured in another shape against his sly artifices.' But I find that Bocchus kept in hands both the Romans and the Numidian with the hopes of peace, more out of a Punic dissimulation, than for the reasons he pretented, and that he frequently debated with great concern in his own mind, whether he should deliver up Jugurtha to the Romans, or Sulla to him: that his inclination pleaded against us, his fear for us.*

CIX. Igitur Sulla: 'pauca coram Aspare locuturum; cætera occultè, aut nullo, aut quàm paucissumis præsentibus:' simul edocet, quæ responderentur. Postquam, si-

CIX. *Whereupon Sulla* replied: '*That he would say but little before Aspar; the rest in private, either none at all, or very few being present:' at the same time he instructs him, what answer should be made. After*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

mul memorantur. Scripsi *dilegeret*, quòd ita vetustissimi codices hoc verbum exhibeant.

4. *Consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere*] *Consulta* pro *consulendis* seu *consiliis*: significat itaque, ea de quibus consulendum haberet cum Sullâ, omnia futura integra et intacta.

5. *Pertimesceret; quò res*] Cape, quasi scriptum esset: *neu legatum Jugurthæ*; qui adesset, aut advocatus, etiam in familiariorem usum adsumptus esset, *pertimesceret*; cùm ita cautum sit, *quò res communis licentiùs gereretur: nam ab insidiis Jugurthæ alitèr caveri nequivisse.*

6. *Punicâ fide*] The Carthaginians were reputed false and treacherous in their dealings; and hence *Punica fides* came to be a proverb, signifying any vile, execrable, or detestable dissimulation. On the other hand, *Attica fides* denotes what is honest, sincere, and what may be depended on: Vell. Pat. II. cap. xxiii. *Adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit, ut semper et in omni re, quicquid* sincerâ fide *gereretur, id Romani,* Atticâ *fieri prædicarent.*

cuti voluerat, congressi, dicit; 'se missum a Consule venisse quæsitum ab eo, pacem, an bellum agitaturus foret.' Tum Rex, utì præceptum, 'post diem decimum redire' jubet; ac nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum.' deindè ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit, Sulla a Boccho occultè arcessitur: ab utroque tantummodò fidi interpretes adhibentur: præthereà Dabar internuncius, sanctus vir, èt ex sententià ambobus. Ac statìm sic Rex incipìt.

*they were met, as he had appointed, he tells him: 'That he had come hither, having been sent by the Consul, to enquire of him, whether he was for peace or war.' Upon this the King, as he had been instructed, desires 'him to return the tenth day after; that as yet he had fixed upon nothing, but would give him an answer against that day.' after this both departed to their respective camps. But when a good part of the night was past, Sulla is sent for privately by Bocchus, trusty interpreters alone are admitted by both parties; the messenger Dabar too* was there, *being a man of honour, and equally acceptable to both* sides. *And straightway the King thus begins.*

CX. 'Numquam ego ratus sum fore, utì Rex maxumus in hâc terrâ, et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et herclè, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultrò ego-

CX. '*I never imagined it would come to pass, that I, the greatest prince in this country, and of all that I know, should be indebted for a favour to a private person. And indeed, Sulla, before I was acquainted with you, I have granted aid to*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CIX. 1. *Ambo in sua castra digressi*] Commentators are much divided as to the meaning of this expression: some take *ambo* to refer to Bocchus and Sulla; but Cortius is positive that Sallust means Aspar and Sulla. Some again take *castra* to signify the camp of Bocchus, and that formed by Sulla and the party who came along with him; which two camps we may suppose to have been at no great distance from one another. But Cortius will have it, that the two camps here meant are, the one that of Jugurtha, which was a good way off, as may be gathered from cap. cxii. since it took Aspar eight days in going to it and returning back; and the other that of Marius, in and about Cirta, which are still at a greater distance: and he takes *digressi* to import, not that they actually went, but that they parted for, or as if they had been resolved to go to their respective camps.

2. *Sanctus——et ex sententiâ*] This construction is elegant, and very much a-kin to *utilia, aut benevolentiæ*, cap. ciii.

met opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod cæteri dolere solent, ego lætor: fuerit mihi eguisse aliquando amicitiæ tuæ, quà apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeò experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremò quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere: et, quoad vives, nunquam redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego æstumo, Regem armis, quàm munificentiâ, vinci, minùs flagitiosum. Cæterùm de re publicâ vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui: finìs meos advorsum armatos armis tutus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ità placet: gerite, utì voltis, cum Jugurthâ bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Præthereà, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haùd repulsus abibis.'

*many upon their request, to others of my own accord. I stood in need of none. I am glad the case is altered,* a thing *which others use to be sorry for: let it be my lot at length to have stood in need of your friendship, than which, in my own mind, I esteem nothing more valuable. This so far you may make trial of: take, use my arms, men, money, in short whatsoever you have a mind to: and, whilst you live, never think your favour is repaid; it shall always remain entire with me: finally, you shall wish for nothing, if I know of it, in vain. For as I imagine, it is less dishonourable for a prince to be outdone at arms, than in generosity. But as to your public affair, which you have been sent hither to negotiate, take* my thoughts *in a few words. I neither made war upon the Roman people, nor did I ever design to do it: I defended my own dominions with arms against an armed force. This I pass, since you so incline: prosecute the war with Jugurtha as you please. I shall not stir beyond the river Mulucha, which was* the boundary *betwixt me and Micipsa, nor will* I *suffer Jugurtha to come within it. And further, if you shall demand any thing worthy of me and yourselves, you shall not go away with a refusal.'*

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro

CXI. *To this Sulla* replied

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CX. 1. *Factum umquam volui.*] *Factum* elegantèr pro *facere.*

2. *Flumen Mulucham*] That this river was the boundary betwixt Bocchus and Jugurtha, we are also told cap. xix. and xcii.

se brevitèr et modice; de pace et de communibus rebus multis disseruit. Denique, Regi patefacit, 'quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniàm ampliùs armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faciundum aliquid, quod, illorum magìs, quàm suâ, retulisse videretur: id adeò in promptu esse, quoniàm Jugurthæ copiam haberet: quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, utì illi plurimum deberetur; amicitiam, fœdus, Numidiæ partem, quam nunc peteret, ultrò adventurum.' Rex primò negitare: 'adfinitatem, cognationem, prætereà fœdus intervenisse: ad hoc metuere, ne fluxâ fide usus, popularium animos avorteret: quîs et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant.' Denique, sæpiùs fatigatus, lenitèr et ex voluntate Sullæ omnia se facturum promittit. Cæterùm ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissumus, quæ utilia visa constituunt. Ità, composito dolo, digrediuntur.

*briefly and modestly in reference to himself;* but *as to the peace and the public concerns he spoke at large.' Finally, he gave the King to understand, 'that the senate and people of Rome, since they had been superior at arms, would not take as a kindness what he promised: he must do something, that might appear to respect their interest more than his own: this was too easy to be done, since he had Jugurtha in his power; whom if he would deliver up to the Romans, the case would be, that they would* then *be under a very great obligation to him;* and *the friendship, alliance,* and *that part of Numidia, which he now demanded, would be freely offered him.' The King at first refused over and over again;* pretending *'there was affinity, relation, as also a treaty betwixt them: and further, that he was afraid, lest by acting a deceitful part, he should alienate the affections of his subjects; by whom both Jugurtha was beloved, and the Romans hated.' At last, upon his being several times urged to it, he promises in a submissive manner, and according to Sulla's desire, that he would do every thing* required of him. *Moreover they fix upon what they thought proper for carrying on the appearance of a peace,* that should include Jugurtha, *of which the Numidian, wearied with the war, was very desirous. And thus having laid their plot, they part.*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CXI. *Numidiæ partem*] This promise of Sulla was exactly performed;

CXII. At Rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthæ legatum adpellat: 'sibi per Dabarem ex Sullâ cognitum, posse conditionibus bellum poni: quamobrem Regis sui sententiam exquireret.' Ille lætus in castra Jugurthæ venit: deindè ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat, 'Jugurtham cupere omnia, quæ imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parùm confidere: sæpè antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Cæterùm si, ambobus consultum, et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut unà ab omnibus, quasi de pace, in coloquium veniretur; ibique sibi Sullam traderet. cùm talem virum in potestatem haberet, fore, utì jussu senatûs atque populi Romani fœdus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, non suâ ignaviâ, sed ob rempublicam, in hostium potestate relictum iri.'

CXII. *But the day following the King speaks to Aspar, Jugurtha's envoy; and* tells him, '*he understood from Sulla, by Dabar, that the war might be ended upon terms: wherefore he should inquire into the sentiments of his prince.' He, overjoyed, posts away to Jugurtha's camp; and after being instructed by him as to every thing, returns with great expedition the eighth day after to Bocchus, and tells him, 'that Jugurtha was very willing to do every thing that should be ordered him; but could not trust Marius: that a peace had been concluded several times before now with the Roman commanders to no purpose. But if he had a mind to study both their interests, and have a lasting peace, he should endeavour to have all parties met together for a conference, under pretence of settling the peace; and then deliver up Sulla to him. it would come to pass when he had such a man in his power, that a treaty would be concluded by order of the senate and people of Rome; that a man of quality, in the hands of his enemy, not through any cowardice in him, but on account of the public, would not be left there.'*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

for, after the delivery of Jugurtha, all that part of Numidia betwixt the rivers Mulucha and Ampsaga was given to Bocchus.

CXII. 1. *In potestatem haberet*] See Cat. cap. xix. n. 3.

2. *Non suâ ignaviâ*] The Romans were not fond of redeeming cowards; such were often left to the mercy of their enemies: but persons who, in the service of their country, had become prisoners, not thro' their own cowardice or misconduct, but the treachery of the enemy, were ransomed by them at any price: and this Jugurtha well knew.

CXIII. Hæc Maurus secum ipse díu volvens, tandem promisit, cæterùm dolo, an verè, parùm comperimus. Sed plerumque regiæ voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, sæpe ipsæ sibi advorsæ. Posteà, tempore et loco constituto, [in colloquium utì de pace veniretur], Bocchus Sullam modò, modò Jugurthæ legatum adpellare, benignè habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi paritèr læti, ac spei bonæ pleni. Sed nocte eâ, quæ proxuma fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis, ac statìm immutatâ voluntate, remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, voltu corporis paritèr, atque animo varius: quæ scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen, postremò Sullam arcessiri jubet, et ex ejus sententiâ Numidæ insidias tendit. Deindè, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haùd procùl abesse; cum paucis amicis et Quæstore nostro, quasi obvius honoris caussâ procedit

CXIII. *The Moor, musing upon this proposal a good while, at last promised, but whether with a fraudulent design, or sincerely, I do not find. But princes' humours generally, as they are very violent, so are they fickle, and often inconsistent. After this, time and place being appointed [for coming to a conference about the peace], Bocchus called one while for Sulla, another while for Jugurtha's envoy, treated them kindly, promised the same thing to both. They were equally well pleased, and full of good hopes. But, in the night, that was immediately before the day appointed for the conference, the Moor called his friends, and presently, upon a change of his resolution, dismissing them, is said to have ruminated on the matter a long time by himself, with great unsteadiness as well in his countenance as in his thoughts: which plainly, though he was silent, discovered the secrets of his breast. However, at last he orders Sulla to be sent for, and in concert with him, lays the plot for the Numidian. Then, as soon as it was day, and he was informed, that Jugurtha was not far off; he with a few friends and our Questor, marches out as if it had been to meet him with a*

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

CXIII. 1. *Voltu corporis*] The expression is somewhat singular, and one may think *corporis* superfluous: but as it is to be taken explicatively, and in opposition to *animi*, it is not without its own beauty. We meet with several such superfluities in Sallust, such as, *timor* animi, *virtus* animi, solis *ardores*, navium *carinæ*.

2. *Quæ scilicet*] Nempe remotionem amicorum repentinam, quòd secum ipse solus multa agitaverit, quòd vultum mutaverit.

in tumulum, facillumum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis, inermus, ut dictum, accedit; ac statìm, signo dato, undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Cæteri obtruncati: Jugurtha Sullæ vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus.

*design of doing him honour, to a little hill, that was easy to be seen by those who lay in ambuscade. Thither, as had been appointed, the Numidian came unarmed, with most of his friends; and immediately, upon a signal given, he is beset by those who lay in ambush, on all sides at once. The rest are cut to pieces: Jugurtha is delivered in chains to Sulla, and by him carried to Marius.*

CXIV. Per idem tempus advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris, Q. Cæpione et M. Manlio, malè pugnatum, quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique, et inde ad nostram memoriam Romani, sic habuere: alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro

CXIV. *About the same time* some *battles had been fought with ill success by our generals,* Q. *Cæpio and M. Manlius, against the Gauls, with the terror whereof all Italy had been put into a consternation.* For *both they, and* all *the Romans after them, down to our times, have been of opinion, that every thing else stooped to their bravery; but that they*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

3. *Sullæ vinctus traditur*] Plutarch informs us, that Sulla was so proud of his success in this affair, that he caused to be made for himself an *annulus signatorius*, or *sealing ring*, on which was represented Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha to him. But this piece of vanity in Sulla gave great offence to Marius.

CXIV. 1. *Advorsum Gallos*] or rather *advorsum Germanos;* for those here meant were the Cimbri, Teutoni, and Tigurini, a very numerous people, being upwards of 300,000, going about in quest of new settlements. They had sent to the senate at Rome, desiring they would give them some land, but were refused; as we have the history in Flor. III. cap. iii. *Repulsi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus, armis petere constituunt. Sed nec primum quidem impetum barbarorum Silanus, nec secundum Manlius, nec tertium Cæpio sustinere potuerunt. Omnes fugati, exuti castris. Actum erat, nisi Marius illi seculo contigisset.*

2. *Illique et inde*] *Illi*, i. e. *Itali.* The reference of *illi* to *Italia* is the same as that of *qui* to *Africa*, cap. lxxxix. n. 3.

3. *Cum Gallis pro salute*] About the year of Rome 364, the Gauls took and burnt the city; which struck such a mighty terror into the Romans; and filled them with such dreadful apprehensions of the Gauls, that for several ages after, even down to the days of our author, the Gallic name was more formidable to them than that of any other nation whatsoever.

gloriâ certare. Sed postquam bellum in Numidiâ confectum, et Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam nunciatum est: Marius Consul absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia. isque Kalendis Januariis magnâ gloriâ Consul triumphavit. Eâ tempestate, spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitæ.

*fought with the Gauls for life, not for glory. But after the news was brought, that the war in Numidia was ended, and that Jugurtha was coming in chains to Rome; Marius,* though *absent, was made Consul* again, *and the province of Gaul assigned him. and he triumphed, being Consul, upon the first of January, with great glory. At that time, the hopes and security of the state rested upon him.*

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

4. *Marius Consul absens factus*] This shows the high opinion the people then entertained of Marius; for it was a thing exceeding rare, and very extraordinary, nay, it was a dispensing with the law itself, which forbade any one to be elected Consul in his absence, or to be re-chosen, till ten years at least had intervened.

5. *Kalendis Januariis magnâ gloriâ Consul triumphavit*] This was the year of Rome 649, and the day on which the new Consuls entered upon their office, which was a great solemnity by itself: but as it was also the day of the triumph, we may well suppose, that the pomp and splendour in which Marius then appeared, was such, as abundantly justifies our author in saying, *Magnâ gloriâ triumphavit.* On this occasion Marius exhibited a sight to the Romans, which they scarcely expected ever to have seen, I mean Jugurtha in chains, as we learn from Eutrop. IV. cap. xxviii. *Ante currum Marii Jugurtha cum duobus filiis ductus est catenatus.* And Plutarch, in his life of Marius, informs us, that Jugurtha, as he walked in the procession, ran distracted. After the ceremony was over, he was cast into prison; and the Lictors were so eager to seize his robe, that they rent it in several pieces, and tore away the tips of his ears, to get the rich jewels with which they were adorned. In this condition he was thrown stark naked into a deep dungeon, that was to be his grave: upon going down into which, *vultu in risum verso,* he uttered these words, *Hercules, quàm frigi m nobis est balneum!* Here, after struggling six days with cold and hunger, he ended his wicked life by a wretched death. Agreeable to this account are the following verses subjoined to some of the old manuscripts.

*Nôsse cupis vulgò non cognita fata Jugurthæ,*
*Ut Plutarchus ait, carcere clausus obit.*

6. *Eâ tempestate*] This is said emphatically, and in opposition to what followed; for, some years after this, Marius, pursuing the ambitious purposes of his aspiring soul, carried matters to such an immoderate height, as introduced the civil wars betwixt him and Sulla, which brought vast destruction and desolation upon Rome and all Italy.

*F I N I S.*

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